POSTMASTER
Send address changes to:
Al-Fajr
2025 I Street N.W.
Washington, D.C.
20006

JERUSALE

PALESTINIAN WEEKLY

(USPS 606-630

DECEMBER 13, 1985
VOL. VI, NO. 293

16 PAGES
IS 600

exp. 86/04
Serial Records Division
Harvard College Library
Cambridge, Mass. 02138

1500 Prisoners Declare Hunger Strike

Mothers of striking prisoners gather in their own solidarity strike at the Jerusalem offices of the Red Cross. AFP Photo.

by Maher Abukhater

About 1500 Palestinian political prisoners have been on hunger strike since December 4 in different prisons in Israel and the occupied territories.

This was revealed to reporters during a press conference December 11 called for by Palestinian lawyers representing some of the political prisoners. The hunger strike reports were confirmed by the Israeli Prison Authority, even though they tried to play it down.

The Israeli Prison Authority transferred a number of prisoners, whom they consider leaders of the strike, to other jails in order to break the protest, *The Jerusalem Post* reported December 12.

Speaking to reporters, attorneys Ali Ghuzlan and Victor Mansour said the strike began in Jnaid in Nablus and later spread to Jenin, Hebron and Asqalan Prisons. They said the prisoners were protesting increased Israeli repression applied in the prisons through the so-called "iron fist".

A press release distributed at the conference said the strike was called for because "the situation in the prisons has become unbearable." It added that the prisoners were "willing to risk their lives in order to put an end to the 'new order' enforced in the prison."

The statement said: "It is no secret that the prison authorities decided to take advantage of the release of more than 1000 political prisoners, freed in the May 1985 prisoner exchange, to recover ground lost to the prisoners in the past year. This includes the requirement to stand for a headcount in Asqalan Prison, the mixing of women political and criminal prisoners in Neve Tertza Prison and violent provocation leading to the unreasonable use of tear gas in Asqalan Prison. These are only some examples of the new order which is being imposed on the Palestinian political prisoners."

The statement went on to say that "The worsening of conditions is not limited to any particular area and includes the quality of food, health care, the right to receive books and newspapers and above all the violence and humiliation."

According to *The Jerusalem Post*, Director of Prison Authority, Rafi Suissa, admitted that stricter measures were being adopted in the prisons. He called the prisoners' refusal to stand for roll-call in the early morning hours "a serious breach of discipline."

Suissa considers the hunger strike "an attempt by prisoners to win autonomy in the management of prisons and the conduct of routine activity there." He therefore decided to react with an "iron fist" to break the prisoners.

Among the demands of the prisoners are improvement of their general conditions, an immediate stop to the violence and verbal abuse, improvement of quality and quantity of food, greater freedom of movement in prisons, admittance of books and newspapers and improvement of lighting and ventilation in the cells.

Meanwhile, the *Post* quoted Suissa as saying that he was willing to improve the quality of food and raise sanitation standards if the strike ends. He said, however, that he was not willing to give in on demands concerning what he called "security matters".

Ghuzlan and Mansour told the press conference they have not been allowed to see the striking prisoners. A spokesperson for the Prison Authority confirmed that no attorney was allowed to enter the prisons because, according to him, attorney "are an inciting element."

The *Post* later reported that the authorities allowed lawyer Walid al-Fahoum to visit Jnaid and Jenin Prisons. Fahoum was expected to visit the prisons December 12.

The striking prisoners have been joined in their protest by their families in the West Bank.

Mothers of political prisoners staged an open strike at

Continued on page 13

IN THIS ISSUE

- Beduins' long trail of relocations p.7
- Why did the US go public with the Israeli spy case? p.8
- Other spy related stories and opinions p.6&9
- Palestine culture in London p.11
- A Dheisheh family battling the winds of deportation p.16

The Israeli Communist Party concluded its 20th conference. See story page 4

Will PLO Accept UN 242 For Conference Seat?

News Analysis
by Daoud Kuttab

Any observer of the status of the Middle East 'peace process' during the past few weeks would have been frustrated trying to decide whether the outlook is optimistic or pessimistic. Special US Envoy Richard Murphy's latest tour of the region has resulted in conflicting signs that would lead observers to believe either that major parties to the conflict are keeping a grandiose agreement secret from the public — difficult task in the Middle East — or that as usual nothing is really going on.

After experiencing so many disppointments, interested parties will only declare any clear optimism when the "bird is in the cage" and the papers — so to speak — are signed, sealed and delivered.

A review of the positions of the various parties to the conflict will clarify the real possibilities of any peace process ever getting off the ground. At least two important questions still up in the air need clear and direct answers. Are the US and Israel prepared to accept the idea of an international conference? Will the PLO accept Security Council Resolution 242? Parties being asked these questions have been vague in their response. For some the vagueness is a tactic in order to wait and see what tangible results are offered if they answer the question positively. Other parties are vague in order to hide the fact that they are not interested in peace and all that it entails, but they are afraid to say so.

During a meeting with Palestinian figures in Jerusalem two weeks ago, US Envoy Richard Murphy rejected a Palestinian assertion that Israel's rejectionist position is unchanged. Murphy is reported to have answered that six months before the Israelis were not willing to mention the words "international conference" but that now it is mentioned and the Israeli Knesset has even approved Peres' speech which included a clear mention of international auspices.

When Peres talks about international auspices, he means an international forum that would give its blessing to an agreement worked out in direct negotiations between Israel and its neighboring Arab countries.

For Arabs the international conference is the place where negotiations take place, and where the influence of the international community would be exerted in order to produce results that are acceptable by the international community.

During King Hussein's visit to Washington this summer, he was quoted as supporting some kind of international umbrella rather than a conference for negotiations. Since that visit Hussein has retracted to the general Arab consensus of an international conference but some believe it seems likely that if conditions are different, he will drop the international conference. Recent Jordanian-Syrian *rapprochement*, however, discounts this possibility.

While Peres' understanding of international auspices differs from the Arab perception of an international conference, many optimists feel the gap can be bridged. The major obstacle that will have to be tackled then is who is to participate. In this area there are two points of controversy — the Soviet participation and the Palestinian representation.

As far as Soviet Union participation is concerned, Israel is trying to make a deal regarding either the Soviet Union re-establishing diplomatic relations, or the Soviets allowing Jewish citizens to immigrate to Israel in return for accepting Soviet participation in the conference. Press reports indicate that in the past months both Israel and the Soviet Union have watered down their positions. Israel, incidentally, accepted USSR participation in the Geneva Summit in 1974 despite the fact that the Soviets didn't have diplomatic relations with Israel at that time.

With the first difference appearing to be reconcilable, the question of Palestinian representation becomes paramount. So far, both Israel and the US are staunchly refusing to accept the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people. Israeli officials, including Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir, have said publicly that Israel will never recognize the PLO even if the latter recognized Israel.

The US position is not as tough. The Americans are willing to deal with the PLO if the PLO accepts UN Resolution 242, denounces terrorism and recognizes Israel. It has become an accepted fact that with Arafat's Cairo Declaration opposing terrorism, the PLO has fulfilled one of the conditions. This leaves recognition of 242 and Israel as the remaining US condition. Palestinians in the occupied territories and Amman have privately indicated that the PLO would be willing to retract its opposition to Resolution 242 if the international conference is approved and if the PLO is guaranteed a seat at the conference table.

As to the Jordanian position, King Hussein has been demanding PLO acceptance of the resolution for a long time. During the 17th PNC session when Arafat's position was strong, Hussein agreed to disagree with the PLO on 242. But after the recent international military operations and the fiasco of the London meeting, Hussein has again returned to his demands that Arafat accept 242. Recently in Baghdad, Arafat announced the PLO would not accept the resolution, but observers feel that is merely strategy and that the question of UN Resolution 242 is still up in the air.

Indications point to the coming meeting in January between the Soviet and American foreign ministers who are due to discuss the Middle East. If the two superpowers agree to the form of and participants in the international conference, the PLO may be forthcoming in accepting 242. If progress is not reached, then there will be a return to the drawing boards and the extended suffering of all parties concerned will continue.

The destroyed home in Mamilla/AO Photo.

Kollek Municipality Destroys Mamilla Quarter Home

The West Jerusalem Israeli municipality demolished December 5 an Arab-owned building in the Mamilla neighborhood in a step towards giving a face-lift to the 1948 armistice line dividing East Jerusalem from West Jerusalem.

The demolition of the six-story building, owned by Omar Joulani, sets the ground for demolishing more adjacent buildings all owned by Arabs. All these buildings were seized from their Arab owners following the 1948 Arab-Israeli war which left West Jerusalem under Israeli control while the East part remained under Arab rule.

According to Mustafa Joulani, son of Omar Joulani, the demolished building housed several Arab families before 1948 and had 17 stores on the ground level. After 1948 it came under the control of the Israeli government which rented the apartments and businesses to Jews. The building and, for that matter, the whole neighborhood was neglected over the years leading to its dilapidation.

Joulani said the Israeli municipality never approached him before proceeding to demolish the building. All Jewish residents and businesses in the building and others targeted for demolition received a substantial amount of compensation to help them relocate.

The face-lift to the 1948 border area has been underway at least in a planning stage by the Israeli municipality for several years now. An Israeli corporation known as KARTA, the Central Jerusalem Development Corporation, was empowered in the late 1960s to come up with a plan to develop the Mamilla area — a 25 acre (100 dunums) area. KARTA is two-thirds owned by the state and one-third by the city. The plan, known as the Mamilla Project, was completed in 1978 but had to undergo modification because of internal differences between the municipality and other government institutions.

The present plan includes building a commercial center, housing units, hotels, and a major thoroughfare. Estimated costs for the project are put at US$120 million. Completion date is expected to be 1990.

Even though the Mamilla project falls just inside the Israeli borders of 1948, it is believed the municipality is giving it special attention because of its proximity to the Arab neighborhoods of East Jerusalem. The municipality, and the state in general, has been talking for many years about removing any signs of division between the two sections of the city. Ever since the Israeli annexation of East Jerusalem in 1967, plans have been under consideration to change the character of the Arab section of Jerusalem. Israel has been saying that it would not give up East Jerusalem in case of a peace agreement with the Arabs and, therefore, has been creating a physical *status quo* where the two sections will be integrated.

The municipality has also drawn another plan, called the Seam plan, which will 'renovate' the Arab Musrara area of East Jerusalem as part of its efforts to remove all signs of division between the two city sections. Musrara falls several blocks from Mamilla. Both neighborhoods were separated by a neutral zone that went around the northwestern section of the Old City wall, between 1948 and 1967.

The Mamilla project and the Seam plan include building a major thoroughfare that would facilitate transportation between East and West Jerusalem. The Musrara-Mamilla area is a major crossing point between East and West Jerusalem. With the completion of both plans, the demarcation line dividing Jerusalem will be hard to notice.

The Mamilla project is expected to touch the area which before 1967 was considered a neutral zone by the United Nations. According to international laws and norms, all property falling inside a neutral zone should be returned to its original owners once the neutrality of the zone is lifted. In this case, Palestinian Arabs are the owners of property in the neutral zone. It is believed, however, that the municipality will expropriate this property to complete its Mamilla project.

Larnaca Commandos Go to Trial

Two Palestinian commandos and a Briton on trial in Cyprus for the killing of three Israelis last September told the court that the Israelis were secret service agents who were responsible for killing many Palestinians, the *Associated Press* reported last week.

"We killed the Israelis because they ran a spy ring in Cyprus and were responsible for the arrest of many of our comrades as well as the murder of many women and children," Khaled al-Khatib said. He also said that the three Israelis were responsible for the assassination of Ali Hassan Salameh, the PLO's chief intelligence officer in Beirut in 1979.

Al-Khatib, 28, who is a student holding a Syrian passport, also said that the Israelis killed all the members of his family and that he was the only survivor. He mentioned the massacres of Sabra and Shatila, and Deir Yassin, for which Israel was directly or indirectly responsible.

The second Palestinian, a laborer holding a Jordanian passport, admitted that he killed the woman in the group, whom he said was a Mossad [Israeli intelligence] agent with military rank.

The third member of the group, Michael Davison, a Briton from the town of South Shields, said he does not regret taking part in the attack because "it was my duty as an international socialist and a person of conscience to fight the Zionist movement wherever I can."

Hanna Siniora, Elias Freij and Rashad Shawwa with the French minister.

French Official Ends Visit With Palestinian Tête-à-Tête

by Maher Abukhater

French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas told Palestinian figures from the occupied territories December 10 that France recognizes that the Palestine Liberation Organization represents the "overwhelming majority" of the Palestinian people.

Dumas was responding to inquiry by the five Palestinian personalities he met with concerning a statement he made earlier in the day that the PLO does not represent "all" the Palestinian people. Dumas made this statement at a press conference he held at the King David Hotel in West Jerusalem.

Dumas' meeting with the Palestinians was the last work session on his agenda for his two-day visit to Israel which began December 9. His reciprocal visit followed an earlier visit by Israeli Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir to France.

The French minister spent most of his time in Israel meeting Israeli officials to discuss bilateral relations and ways that France could help Israel improve its position in the European Economic Community, particularly after the entry of Spain and Portugal to the market in the beginning of next year. Israel is worried that Spanish and Portugese products, mainly agriculture, will harm Israeli exports to the EEC countries because of their lower cost. Israel was opposed to admitting Spain and Portugal to the Common Market until members of the EEC, particularly France, promised to help Israel maintain its exports standard and to even improve it.

The five Palestinian figures — Hanna Siniora of Jerusalem, Rashad Shawwa of Gaza, Elias Freij of Bethlehem, Mustafa Natshe of Hebron and Dr. Hatem Abu Ghazaleh of Nablus — also asked Dumas to push for an increase in EEC monetary assistance to the occupied territories.

Talking to reporters following the 90-minute meeting, Shawwa, dismissed mayor of Gaza, said the delegation "asked for French and EEC aid to the occupied territories — economically, in standard of living and politically." Shawwa said Dumas reacted positively to this request.

Bethlehem Mayor Freij asked that the EEC raise its current contribution to the occupied territories from US$2 million to US$100 million to bring it in line with its US$200 million aid to Israel.

Natshe, acting mayor of Hebron who was dismissed by the Israeli military government in 1983, added that the Palestinian delegation also asked France and the EEC to support peace efforts in the region to end the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Dumas' statements on the Palestinian issue between his morning press conference and afternoon meeting seemed to reflect some uncertainty. In addition to his flip-flop statement on the PLO representation of the Palestinian people, Dumas told the morning press conference that France "understands" Israel's opposition to the convening of an international conference on the Palestine issue.

But, when meeting the Palestinian delegation in the afternoon, Dumas told them France supports the convening of such a conference.

In another instance, Dumas refused to commit France to a position on the French-Egyptian declaration of 1983 which was supposed to modify the controversial UN Security Council Resolution 242 to make it acceptable to the Palestinian people. According to a member of the Palestinian delegation, Dumas responded by saying that French policy in the Middle East is influenced a great deal by US policy. France, Dumas told the Palestinians, cannot act against US will on the Arab-Israeli issue.

Palestinian physician, Dr. Ahmad Hamzeh Natshe, an authority on French-Palestinian relations and on the French Socialist government, emphasized to *Al Fajr* the influence of the US on French Mideast policy. Dr. Natshe said this was obvious, beginning with the signing of the Camp David agreement between Egypt and Israel in 1978 up to current so-called peace initiatives.

Dr. Natshe was highly critical of the French government's stand on the Palestinian issue. He said the ruling Socialist party and the French government as a whole give nothing more than "lip service" to the Palestinians and Arabs. Their acts, he added, are totally contrary to what they say.

Dr. Natshe also criticized Dumas' meeting with the Palestinian figures saying that the meeting would have been acceptable if Dumas came here especially to visit the occupied territories and hear the Palestinian point of view on the conflict. Such meetings should be boycotted by the Palestinians, Dr. Natshe said.

The Palestinian delegation did invite Dumas to visit the occupied territories and meet Palestinians in his next trip to this region. Dumas accepted the invitation.

Hanna Siniora told reporters after the meeting with Dumas that he is optimistic concerning the movement of the peace process. The feeling among the Palestinians was that France and the EEC are going to push for Palestinian rights and independence he said.

Dumas confirmed at his press conference France's position which recognizes the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and a 'homeland'. He, however, did not mention if France is planning any new initiatives on the Middle East or even a push for present ones.

Al Fajr Arabic daily played up the importance of the French foreign minister's meeting with Palestinian figures from the occupied territories, and his reported statement of support of the Palestinian legitimate rights. "The French foreign minister's assertion of the Palestinian rights comes face to face with the Israeli stand which denies these rights," Al Fajr said.

Al Mithaq, on the other hand, blasted the meeting of Palestinians, without naming them, with the French minister of state for foreign affairs and other western politicians. "The purpose of these meetings, the latest of which was with the French foreign minister, is to prepare them to represent our people in future settlements, especially since the Palestinian right is still an unacceptable partner in the settlements."

Two Ex-Prisoners Deported

Two West Bank Palestinians were deported to Jordan December 9 after refusing to appeal the deportation orders. The two were not allowed to say proper goodbyes to their families.

This deportation brings the total number of deportees in recent months to 24.

Mahmoud Abdallah Ida'is, 44, from Bani Na'im village, and Yunis Salem Rajoub, 29, from Dura town, both near Hebron, were taken from the Hebron Prison under military guard. They were taken in the afternoon sun to the border with Jordan in the Araba desert.

Their families, who had maintained a vigil outside the prison since the morning, were unable to see them before they were taken away.

Ida'is' younger brother, Ahmad, explained in a Jerusalem press conference held December 10 that the two prisoners refused to see their families after the Israelis decided to allow only three relatives in for five minutes. "Which one of Mahmoud's eight children would go in to see him?" Ahmad asked.

One day earlier, Da'is and Rajoub declined to appeal their deportation orders before the Israeli Military Objections Committee and the Israeli High Court. They said they declined because "there is no possibility for us to win the case through Israeli courts, since Israel does not respect international law. We refuse to participate in measures which will give the deportation orders the appearance of legality."

The two deportees also charged that it is customary that indictment comes before giving a sentence, but in this case the Israelis issued a deportation order and then told them to go to court.

The Military Objections Committee issued a statement that as the two men did not want to pursue their case, the committee did not see the need to study the case. They said only the decision of the military commander would go on record.

Ida'is, who was arrested on December 4, served two prison terms in the past — once for four years (1967-71) and the second for five years (1973-78). His house was demolished after his arrest in 1973. Since 1983, Ida'is was confined to his home village of Bani Na'im under town arrest. His elderly father was expelled to Jordan in 1970.

Rajoub was among the 1150 prisoners released in the prisoner swap between the PFLP-GC and Israel last May. Since his release, he has been held under town arrest and been denied the right to get an ID card to insure his residency. Lawyer Lea Tsemel, who represented Rajoub, maintained that he was arrested in 1973 before he was able to obtain an ID card.

Lawyers Victor Mansour (right) and Ali Ghuzlan (middle) at a press conference concerning this week's deportation of two ex-prisoners. Muhammad Ida'is (left), brother of one of the deportees, also spoke to reporters ./AO photo.

Kalandia Entrance Reopened

The Israeli authorities reopened the main entrance to Kalandia Refugee Camp December 9.

In the early morning hours, a large military and police force demolished the cement barricade blocking the entrance. The operation was carried out in the presence of high-ranking Israeli officers and the police commander in the Ramallah region.

The entrance to the camp of 15,000 was blocked off by the authorities on July 5, 1983. The entryway was closed with metal barrels fixed with iron bars and filled with cement. Authorities alleged at the time that the closure was intended to prevent residents from throwing stones at Israeli troops.

Other measures were also taken against the camp. One year later the authorities erected a prison-like observation tower of about 10 meters in height near the closed entrance. It was later removed. Flood lights were also installed on the main street facing the camp.

Similar measures were taken against the Dheisheh Refugee Camp in the Bethlehem area and the Aroub Camp halfway between Bethlehem and Hebron.

The closing of the entrance caused hardship to many camp residents who had no access to the main road which links them with Jerusalem and Ramallah. Instead they used a long, narrow rocky road making it almost impossible to bring in trucks or other large vehicles. The situation was especially dangerous for the sick because it took a long time to transport doctors in or out, or to transfer patients to hospitals.

Israel Communists Conclude 20th Conference

by Khalil Touma

The Israeli Communist Party ended its deliberations at its 20th conference December 7, by affirming its political and organizational unity.

The party stressed its determination to continue its struggle to achieve the social and political goals stated in the party platform. At the end of four days of extensive deliberations, conference participants elected members to the two main party bodies — a 35-member central committee, three of whom are new, and a seven-member central comptroller committee. The politbureau, the highest executive body in the party from the central committee, will be elected after the conference.

The conference also approved the political and organizational platforms presented by the outgoing central committee. The political program calls for full equality between Arabs and Jews in Israel, a just and durable solution to the Palestinian problem, and peace and nuclear disarmament in the world.

Summarizing the deliberations at the final session, the General Secretary of the party, Meir Vilner, expressed his confidence that the various departmental discussions during the conference proved the party is *ideologically, politically and organizationally* united. He said he had no doubt that the Communist Party is the most democratic of all parties in Israel. Vilner began his remarks with an appeal to all factions of the Palestinian liberation movement to unite within the framework of the PLO on the basis of Palestine National Council resolutions and against imperialism.

Vilner refuted allegations that the PLO does not recognize the rights of Jews and that they have not adopted a clear strategy concerning the Palestinian struggle. Vilner said the PLO made its strategy clear in the 16th PNC session.

Vilner said that if the Israeli government accepted the party's plan for the conflict resolution, peace could be achieved within one week, "but Israel and its leaders are the ones who refuse the solution, not the PLO and its leadership." Vilner said the party has criticized what it considers some erroneous stands of the PLO leadership, and has expressed reservation about the Amman agreement. "But, comrades who demand that the PLO or Syrian policies be attacked, apparently forget that we are functioning inside Israel where preparations for war against Syria are going on and that the PLO, as well as the Palestinian cause, is always a target of those wanting its liquidation. Should we add fuel to this fire?" said Vilner.

Vilner added that it should be made clear to Jewish citizens that the party's support of the rights of the Palestinian people and their struggle against occupation and suppresion is in the best interest of the people of Israel. The establishment of a Palestinian state is not in any way against Israel, but the occupation is, he said. He also stated that when the Palestinian state is established, the security problems, and the political, economic and social ills facing Israel will all come to an end.

Vilner condemned strategic agreements between Israel and the US, and Israel's strategic cooperation with the South African regime. He also condemned the export of arms to dictatorships like Honduras and to those fighting Nicaragua and the rebels in Afghanistan.

The party's central committee report presented to the conference by Vilner included issues of party policy domestically and internationally, the most prominent of which is the party's plan for achieving a comprehensive and just peace in the region. The plan calls for the withdrawal of Israel from all Arab territories occupied in 1967 and the recognition of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and the establishment of an independent state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip with East Jerusalem as its capital. The plan includes a return of the Golan Heights to Syria, and a solution to the refugee problem based on UN resolutions giving them the right to choose between return to their homeland and compensation. The plan also states the right of Israel and the Arab states to sovereignty and development in peace and security. The party wants an end to the state of war and the annexation of Jerusalem. Conditions of peace should be stated in agreements which will form the legal basis of peaceful coexistence among all these states, the plan noted.

The central committee indicated that with the current international and Middle East situation the convention of an international conference under the auspices of the UN is the only way to solve the Israeli-Arab conflict and to establish a just and comprehensive peace in the Middle East. In an international conference, all parties concerned should participate — Israel, the PLO, the Arab countries, the Soviet Union, the US, and other concerned countries.

Internal Israeli affairs were also discussed in the report. There are "no essential differences between the Likud and the Labor Alignment on the domestic scene or in the area of foreign policy," the report stated. It was also clearly stated that a number of factors have contributed to the rise of fascism in Israel itself. These factors include Israel's occupation for the last 18 years, the "iron fist" policy against the people of the occupied territories, the dismissal of basic human rights in the occupied territories, and the colonial and racist practices there.

The report also indicated that sectarian divisions and discrimination have increased in recent years in Israel, as well as poverty. The majority of the poor are of oriental origin and "the party will continue to wage a struggle against discrimination and poverty," the report stated.

The conference, which was attended by delegations from 16 countries, received scores of greeting cables from Communist parties and national liberation movements throughout the world, some of which were reprinted in the party Arabic publication *Al Ittihad*. PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat also sent a cable of support to the conference. In his cable, Arafat said the role of the party was very important and he expressed the determination of the PLO to "stand firmly against the plots and maneuvers of American imperialism." He expressed the PLO's sincerity in fighting for a just and durable peace in the region. Israel's president Chaim Herzog also attended the opening session.

Party members who participated in the conference praised the democratic atmosphere which prevailed throughout the four days of discussion. Vilner noted that 82 delegates out of a total of 615 actively participated in the discussion. This percentage is considered very high among world Communist parties. Various party branches also cabled their comments concerning issues discussed at the conference.

Vilner pointed out that opinions that are not in conformity with the general line of the party were also allowed to be presented and discussed fully.

Haim Cohen Describes Administrative Punishments as 'Terror'

Former Israeli High Court Judge Haim Cohen attacked the administrative punishments carried out against Palestinians living in the occupied territories.

Speaking on the occasion of Human Rights Day, December 10, Cohen said "these administrative punishments give an impression to the victims of an act of terror, rather than of a court judgment." Administrative punishments include detentions, deportation and house demolitions.

Cohen, the honorary chairman of the Association of Civil Rights in Israel, was speaking at a meeting sponsored by his organization.

Later Cohen told *Al Fajr* that he favors judicial rather than administrative punishments. Cohen, however, didn't know if his organization is planning to initiate a campaign against administrative punishment.

Yosef Zurai

Dan Be'eri

Two Israeli Terrorists Pardoned

Israeli President Chaim Herzog reduced, without giving reason, the prison sentences of two Jewish terrorists. The two terrorists were released from prison December 8, five months short of serving two-thirds of their sentences.

Dan Be'eri and Yosef Zurai were sentenced in July, 1984 to a three-year prison term for conspiring to attack *Al-Aqsa* Mosque compound in East Jerusalem and for attempting to physically harm Palestinian engineer Ibrahim Dakkak of Jerusalem by sabotaging his car.

The two terrorists would have been up for parole in the summer of '86 after serving two-thirds of their term if they were found to have exhibited good conduct. A spokesperson in Herzog's office, however, refused to explain why the two prisoners were released so early.

Right-wing Jewish groups, including Vice Premier and Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir of the Likud party, have been pressuring the government to pardon all members of the Jewish terrorist group who were involved in attacking Palestinians in the occupied territories.

Twenty-five Jewish terrorists were arrested early in 1984 and charged with attempts to attack Palestinians in the occupied territories and with illegal possession of arms. Be'eri and Zuria were among the 25 arrested.

Be'eri, 41, converted to Judaism after his arrival in Israel 15 years ago. He was originally a French Catholic. He was found guilty of attempting to sabotage Dakkak's car and *Al-Aqsa* Mosque. He lives in the Jewish Quarter of Jerusalem's Old City.

Arab Local Councils Declare Open Strike

The Arab local councils in Israel resumed their strike December 10, following the failure of the Israeli Interior Ministry to fulfill a promise to pay them IS2.6 billion to cover their deficit.

Reports indicated that all 46 Arab local councils participated in the strike, including for the first time the local council of the Druze village of Maghar. Druze local councils, though they are Arabs, have chosen not to be included in the Regional Committee of Heads of Arab Local Councils. The strike was a continuation of the one-day strike December 2 which was called off by the Regional Committee after official promises were made that the full amount would be forthcoming in a few days time. It later became apparent to the Arab councils that the amount transferred to them was no more than half the original amount due.

In the meeting for the Secretariat of the Regional Committee in the village of Jdaideh December 9, it was discovered that the amount of only IS1 billion and 36 million was transferred. This does not include the amount of IS1.5 billion for development which was promised last April and was never received.

The secretariat then decided to call an open strike until all demands are met. Education and sanitation facilities were, however, excluded from the strike which involved all other activities of the local councils. It was also reported that the Secretariat of the Regional Committee had decided to organize two demonstrations in front of the Knesset and in Nazareth.

Ibrahim Nimr Hussein, head of the Committee and mayor of Shafa Amr, told *Al Fajr* that in addition to the insufficient amount of funds received from the ministry, the way this amount was distributed among the councils was unfair and incorrect. Some small councils were given larger amounts than the big ones, an act apparently aimed at creating differences between these councils, "a thing which we are aware of and which will not succeed."

Hussein also said that a meeting for the committee was planned for December 12 at two o'clock. Proposals for additional strike measures and demonstrations would be discussed in order to include large public sectors of th Arab population. "The ball is in the authorities' court now and we have nothing else to do except to struggle for our rights," Hussein said.

The Dawn
AL FAJR
AL FAJR – Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly

Publisher:
Paul A. Ajlouny
Editor:
Hanna Siniora

Tel: (02) 281035
P.O. Box 19315
2 Hatem at-Taee St.
East Jerusalem 91192

Telex no.s:
Jerusalem: 26467 omar il
Washington: 64677 omar uw

Al Fajr was founded in 1972 by Yusef Nasr, who edited the paper until his kidnapping in 1974. The English edition was first published in April 1980. **The Dawn (Al Fajr) Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (UPS 686630)** is published weekly for $50.00 per year by Paul Ajlouny, 16 Crowell St., Hempstead. N.Y. 11550. Second class postage paid at Hempstead, N.Y.
POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Al Fajr 2025 I Street, N.W., Suite 925, Washington D.C., 20006.

Palestine Should Be Part of Human Rights Protest

Thirty-seven years ago this week, delegates from all the countries of the world huddled together in the United Nations building and signed a declaration intended to safeguard the rights of human beings. While the reasons for the original drafting of the Declaration of Human Rights might have changed, the need for it is as necessary today as it was back in 1948.

It doesn't require an expert on world politics to point out the stark violations of this human rights declaration by the states that signed that document and by states which have been created since then.

More depressing is the fact that many of the states that are constantly protesting human rights violations in other parts of the world are themselves practicing worse violations and are supporting countries that have no regard whatsoever for the simple rights of human beings to live in their country or to be entitled to trial if detained.

Countries of the world cannot protest human rights in any part of the world and ignore it in others. If there is anything the UN declaration makes crystal clear, it is the fact that human rights are non-negotiable. This means that world powers must defend human rights in any country whether they maintain strong ties and have natural interests or not. In the same manner, we, as Palestinian Arabs, must defend the rights of our fellow Arabs in the Arab world as we demand from Israel and the international community the granting of our rights.

Apologies Apologies Apologies Apologies Apologies Apologies
Apologies Apologies Apologies Apologies Apologies Apologies
Apologies Apologies Apologies Apologies Apologies Apologies
Apologies Apologies Apologies Apologies Apologies Apologies
Apologies Apologies Apologies Apologies Apologies Apologies
Apologies Apologies Apologies Apologies Apologies Apologies
Apologies Apologies Apologies Apologies Apologies Apologies
Apologies Apologies Apologies Apologies Apologies Apologies
Apologies Apologies Apologies Apologies Apologies Apologies
Apologies Apologies Apologies Apologies Apologies Apologies
Apologies Apologies Apologies Apologies Apologies Apologies

AL FAJR – Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: ONE YEAR. US$50.00

NAME. . . . . .

ADDRESS. . . . . .

ENCLOSED IS A CHEQUE FOR THE AMOUNT . . . . . .

DATE. . . . . .

SIGNED . . . . . .

Mail to:
Al Fajr Palestinian Weekly
PO Box 19315
East Jerusalem
Via Israel

In US.
Al Fajr Palestinian Weekly
2025 I St. NW, Suite 925
Washington DC, 20006 USA

US Activists Commemorate November 29

by Ghassan Bishara
Our Washington, D.C. Correspondent

"The Palestinian people deserve no less than a homeland where they can live in peace and harmony."

Congressman Nick Rahall of W. Virginia said these words in a message delivered to more than 1000 people gathered to remember November 29, the world community's designated day of solidarity with the people of Palestine.

Rahall's was one of many speeches given actually on November 24 in Washington. Similar activities were held throughout the week in other major cities across the United States.

Western and American Middle East specialists continue to be puzzled and surprised by Arab and Palestinian perseverance and commitment regarding the Palestinian cause. This continued dedication to the Palestine question proves even more puzzling to Western observers in light of, what they consider, a long list of serious setbacks.

However, among those surprised this time were some Arabs and Palestinians who had accepted the common perception that a state of apathy and immobilization exists in the ranks of those who uphold the Palestinian cause. The outpouring of support, however, by the more than 1000 attendees at the November 24 rally on a cold Washington evening is certain to provide another shock to those who have begun to doubt the resilience of the Palestinians and their friends.

Among those present at the event sponsored by the Palestine Information Office (PIO) and co-sponsored by all other Arab-American organizations were representatives of 22 embassies, in addition to the Arab League. Solidarity messages were read by three members of Congress, who unfortunately could not be present, as well as by several Arab-American organizations.

November 29 was designated as the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People by the United Nations in 1979 – a date to be commemorated every year until the Palestinian people realize their rights to self-determination, return and statehood. November 29, 1947, was the day the UN General Assembly succumbed to unprecedented American pressure and voted to partition Palestine. The commemoration of this day, said Khalil Jahshan, the event's master of ceremonies, has two objectives: "to draw the attention of the world to the conditions of the Palestinian people, and to mobilize world opinion behind the need to take action to enable the Palestinian people to recover and fully exercise their inalienable right of return, self-determination and statehood." Jahshan urged those in attendance, and all other supporters of Palestine, to intensify their "efforts and commitment" on behalf of Palestinian rights since, he warned, there will be no lasting peace until those rights are exercised by the people of Palestine in a democratic and independent state.

Clovis Maksoud, ambassador for the League of Arab States, said that solidarity with the Palestinian people "is not only a speech or two once or twice a year. It is a commitment... on behalf of Palestinian liberation." Maksoud called on Arabs "to transcend petty religious sectarianism that only divides and weakens our nations and the cause of our people." The Arab League's ambassador to the UN stressed the need for national unity among Palestinians, adding that the Palestinians "must resist inter-Arab differences which spill over into their ranks."

A statement released in New York on behalf of the secretary general of the League of Arab States addressed the deteriorating conditions of Palestinians under Israeli occupation, and of "pernicious measures such as expulsion and the destruction of the local economy." Andrew Killgore, former ambassador to Qatar, called on the Palestinians not to despair, adding, "I don't know how you can lose in the long run."

The Palestinians, said Democratic Congressman Rahall, in the message delivered on his behalf, "have been forced to suffer under great injustice." He added that it is the "responsibility and obligation of all freedom-loving people to work toward the goal of a Palestinian homeland."

American values of respect for human rights, he said, should apply to all, including the Palestinians. The Palestinians, he said, "deserve to be treated with the same respect, the same dignity, and the same consideration as anyone in this world, and this country cannot rest until they are living in their own homeland with control over their own destiny." He concluded by saying that it is the obligation of this country to help them move toward this objective.

American values of respect for human rights should apply to all, including the Palestinians

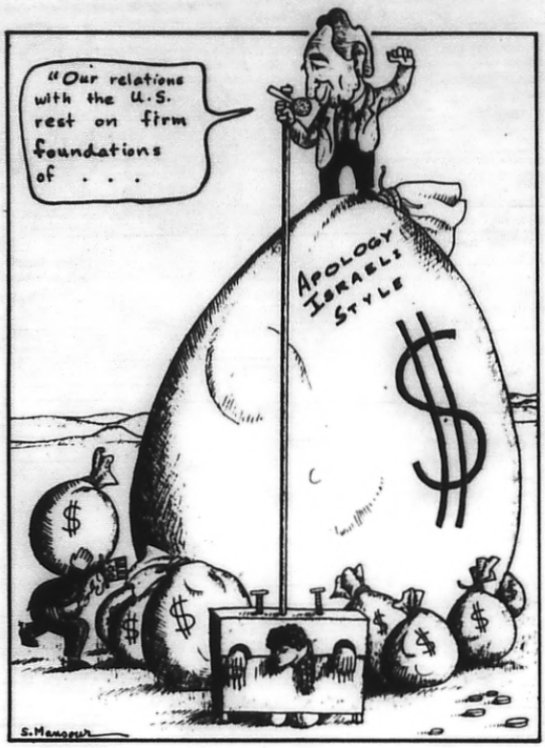
Congressman George Crockett, a Democrat from Michigan, regretted his inability to attend, but expressed his hope that a just and lasting settlement for the Middle East conflict can be achieved. He renewed his "commitment to making that goal a reality." Congressman John Conyers, another Michigan Democrat, called conditions both in the occupied territories and in the Middle East in general, "totally unacceptable." If any of the US$7 million a day that Israel receives from America with the full support of Congress, "is used to repress human rights in any way whatsoever, or to administer policies which contradict our values," Conyers said, "then we have an imperative to re-evaluate the situation."

Hassan Abdul-Rahman, director of the PIO in Washington, condemned the Israeli 'iron fist' policy which is aimed at the oppression of the Palestinians and the destruction of the PLO. Abdul-Rahman also condemned US policy in the Middle East, adding that the supportive American reaction to the Israeli bombing of PLO offices in Tunis reveals the nature of the relations between these two countries. He quoted Italian Prime Minister Craxi's statement that it is the law of history that people under occupation resist that occupation, pledging that the struggle will continue until Palestinian rights are achieved.

Similar November 29 commemorations were sponsored by the PIO in other American cities including Los Angeles, New York, Chicago and San Francisco. The Washington event also featured cultural presentations such as nationalist songs and *dabkeh* performed by a local student group. When asked about the turnout of more than 1000 friends and supporters, Abdul-Rahman said that people often underestimate the intensity and depth of feeling that Palestinians and Arabs have towards the Palestinian issue. Once again, they were proven wrong. ■

US Psychology:

Reward But Never Punish Israel



by Karen Lende

Relations between the United States and Israel may be strengthened as a result of an American Jew spying for Israel.

This illogical sentiment has been voiced by, among others, US Secretary of State George Shultz. But it merely illustrates a longstanding American policy that rewards Israel for its irresponsible actions, even those actions that are in blatant violation of the unique friendship between the two countries.

Jonathan Jay Pollard, an intelligence analyst in the US Navy, was arrested November 21 on charges of selling classified documents to Israel. The existence of four science data-gathering units in the US, under the supervision of a former chief of operations for the Mossad (Israeli intelligence), was subsequently discovered to include activities of spying and two diplomats connected to the units were recalled to Israel *immediately after* Pollard's arrest.

The US waited an unprecedented 11 days before receiving a qualified apology from Israel — an apology that was coordinated in advance with US officials and which made no reference to returning the stolen documents or to the accessibility of the two diplomats for questioning.

Even before Israel issued its apology, there issued from Washington a flurry of statements designed to mitigate potential damage from the spy case. White House Spokesman Larry Speakes said the incident wouldn't hurt relations between the US and Israel; Charles Redman from the State Department added that the "normal relationship" has not been fundamentally interrupted.

Certainty about the outcome of the scandal was reflected in the words of Prime Minister Shimon Peres when he confidently stated that the spy affair was a successful test of US-Israeli relations.

These optimistic statements are based on an astute understanding of the unique relationship between the US and Israel, a relationship in which America bends over backward to accommodate Israel.

Regardless of the current strain in relations, the US-Israel alliance is far too strong to be severely shaken no matter how gross Israel's misconduct. Such misconduct can be seen in the following examples:

In June 1967, an American intelligence gathering ship, the USS *Liberty*, was attacked by Israel in broad daylight in the Mediterranean, leaving 34 sailors dead and 171 injured. Israel apologized to the US claiming mistaken identity (a claim that was later proved false) and the next day invaded the Golan Heights. The US unqualifiedly accepted the apology and invested its energies in "keeping the lid on" the true facts of the assault.

In June 1982, Israel's invasion of Lebanon caused an international outcry. The outcry was shortlived on Capitol Hill, since shortly after the bombing of Beirut and the massacres of Sabra and Shatila Refugee Camps, the US increased aid to Israel by over half a billion dollars.

Although we don't know what the outcome of the Pollard case will be, it is safe to surmise that the fallout will be minimal as it was in the case of Stephen Bryen, a member of the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee. In 1978, Bryen was publicly accused of offering classified information on Saudi air bases to Israelis. Although a Justice Department memorandum suggested that Bryen acted as Israel's unregistered agent and lied about it, the case was closed in 1979. Bryen currently holds the highly trusted position of Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense at the Pentagon, further evidence of the US system of reward rather than punishment concerning Israel.

Israel's supporters have long been adept at obtaining highly secret information from the US. The Pollard case begins to look like a farce since leaks to Israel are pervasive and are carried out with US knowledge. An example can be found in the case of the 90 millimeter rounds of ammunition. Paul Findley, in

Continued on page 10

Human Rights Day Points to Need for Recommitment to UN Declaration

by Mahmoud Talab Namoura

Human Rights Day, December 10, 1985, marked the 37th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. On Human Rights Day the world was pledged to remember with deep sorrow the millions of individuals who have needlessly suffered and perished over many centuries and in many countries through the denial of their human rights.

We, the Palestinians, who have also suffered, are deeply concerned about the maintenance and improvement of human rights around the globe. We are denied many of the rights guaranteed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other human rights conventions. We are denied the right to self-determination and to pursue freely our economic, social and cultural development. Our rights to liberty and security of person are often violated. Restrictions are repeatedly imposed on our right to freedom of movement and residence, and many other personal and collective rights are violated.

On December 10, 1948, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations, in an era that was reeling under the impact of the brutality and horrors that had taken place during World War II. The public conscience of the world was shocked, and the leaders were determined that this should never happen again.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted by the General Assembly without a dissenting vote. The Preamble of the Declaration states, "Now, therefore, the General Assembly proclaims this Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the people of territories under their jurisdiction."

LSM's slogan for Human Rights Day

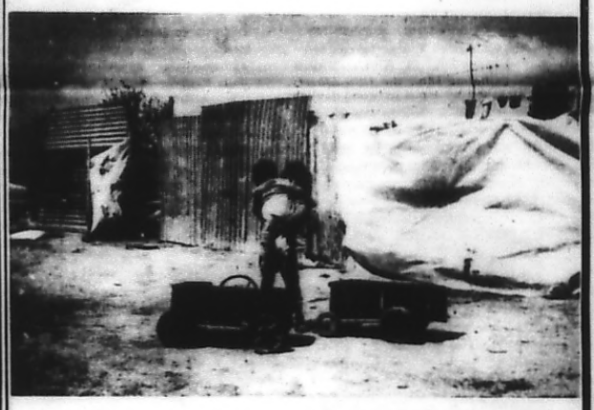
Thirty-seven years later we must take stock of the human rights situation to see if the charter is indeed useful and being implemented by the various Member States. The answer for many of them is an unqualified 'No'.

In fact, there is an irreconcilable difference between the ready acceptance of the treaties and the failure to honor them. Sometimes competition among ideological groups is placed above considerations of human rights, and this frequently renders the protection of human rights by the international community very difficult.

Sometimes the doctrine of national security is used as a pretext to justify the denial of basic human rights. Although about 80 countries have ratified the 1966 International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the implementation of these rights has been very inadequate. In the words of Van Boven of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights: "Notwithstanding their commitment in the Charter to achieve international co-operation in promoting and protecting human

Continued on page 15

A Long Trail of Relocation for Naqab Beduins



"We had a village and houses of stone..." said the beduin Sheikh. Now the beduins are forced to live in houses of barley sacks and metal casings.

by Ahmad Ibid

On a winding mountain road, that seems to have been there since time immemorial, the village of Thaheriya sits. On that road, which links the cities of Hebron and Beer Sheba, several mountains and valleys are found. At one point, the chain of mountains and valleys suddenly ends and the road travels free of curves into a wide plain followed by a deep valley local Arabs call the *Wadi al-Khalil*.

This valley stretches to the city of Beer Sheba in the south where it is renamed *Wadi Jarrar*. It soon becomes *Wadi Shallalah* and finally runs to the sea where it is once again renamed *Wadi Gaza*.

The wide plain itself retains its original name the Plain of Wadi al-Khalil. Though the name has remained the same, the plain has been disfigured over the years. At the entrance to the plain an alien settlement has imposed itself on the old landscape. A block of newly-built structures of shiny limestone make up the settlement of *Mitar*, built for the purpose of obliterating the 'green line' that divides Palestine. The rest of the plain struggles to retain its whitish grey character of its glorious past.

Only after a penetrating look will one notice several dwellings which appear to shy away from the curious onlooker — possibly to avoid being blamed by the Israelis for "desecration of state land." Scattered around these houses are olive seedlings, thirsty and desperately avoiding the deadly forces of drought and confiscation. If you had asked for a definition of the scene in front of you, someone would have simply replied "beduins" and you might have left it at that. But there must be more to it, you say. And you are right. It is the dilemma of a cause, of a people.

You drive on, but before you reach another milestone settlement, you leave the highway and start off on a dirt road which seems to have been paved by the feet of men and of mules. Two kilometers along the road you come across a village, or is it a refugee camp? You avoid thinking of the word "equality".

This camp, I came to learn, has a long story behind it entitled "Tarabin al-Sane'." It is a story of suffering, patience and strong will. The story has its origins in the Tarabin tribe, the largest beduin tribe to settle in Naqab. The camp people are only a small part of this tribe which has survived outright expulsion from their lands.

Sheikh Hammad al-Sane', a man past his 50s, tries to tell the story. It is as if he is shivering in pain as he describes the anguish and unfairness with which his people have been faced. He studies my face as if he wants to know how effective my report will be in lessening the anguish and the pain. He is somewhat certain that my article will not help him retrieve one inch of his land.

"We had a village and houses of stone and a school. We owned thousands of dunums," he says. "It used to be called 'Khirbat Abu Galion.' We were there for thousands of years, just south of the new 'Ofkim' settlement. We dug wells and built houses; we planted our lands with maize, barley and grapes. They say we were nomads. That is a big lie. We never moved off our land, until they moved us out." The man, with increasing anger, explains that ever since Israel was created, his tribe was moved and resettled three times. "They made us into nomads. Go there, to our lands and see our houses that they demolished, that Israel demolished," he said.

The man pauses and tries to calm himself, but soon explodes again. "When occupation came, many villages were emptied and many destroyed but we stayed on the land. Those days were the days of military rule and do you know what that means? It meant that they could kill people as if they were stray dogs out there in the desert with no witness to record their atrocities."

"The military governor came to us in 1951 and said, 'you have to move out. This area is a military zone and you can't stay.' He told us that he would make sure we could return as soon as things calmed down. They moved us to the 'Shqaib' area just south of Beer Sheba. They came back 10 years later and moved us to this spot. They rented us 300 dunums that we still have to pay yearly fees for and it's been like that ever since," he finished.

A man in his early 30s tells that prior to 1970 they were prevented from building solid houses. "They restricted our building to sheepskin tents. But since sheepskin was scarce, we had to build the tents from barley sacks. Lately, they permitted us to use metal casings."

What then do the Israelis want from these people? It seems that the authorities do not wish the tribe to stay there. They reside on 'state land' and can be evicted from it at an hour's notice. They are allowed no new construction permits, no electricity or water supply. Only after great effort did the water companies allow a water pipe to be connected to the main line that goes along the highway. The line is a one-inch pipe from which 100 families take their water.

Several months ago, the residents drafted a letter to the Israeli Minister-without-Portfolio Ezer Weizman who is responsible for Arab affairs in Israel. They asked him to grant them more land and a permit to build a small agricultural village, or at least to allow them to return to their original land. The minister replied that "the state has spent large sums of money on village constructions for beduins and is unable to spend any more." He added that "the agricultural sector in Israel is deteriorating and the state cannot afford to invest in agricultural projects any more. So your best alternative is to relocate in one of the many residential areas that are already in existence."

Sheikh Hammad says that relocation in such an area is impossible since there is no land on which to grow crops. "We are not day laborers. We are farmers and farming is all we know." He suggested that perhaps "they want us to become day laborers for Israeli settlements." He recalled the story of Ahmad who went to work for an Israeli firm in Omer. He worked for five years but "was abruptly fired and was given no compensation. They hired an Ethiopian in his place," he said.

"But this is the last time anyone will ever move us around, unless it is back to our lands," the *Sheikh* explains with emotion. "Have him use bulldozers, tanks or what have you but we will not move out. We want to live here and even die here if it means another dispossession."

The elders of Tarabin al-Sane' occasionally take the children of the tribe to their original land so that they will not forget. They still await the day when they are able to live in somewhat better conditions than those of today. And they cautiously look over their shoulders to the Omer settlement which may one day absorb their lands and metal huts.

According to *Sheikh* Hammad, their suspicion is not all that far from the truth. A month and a half ago, the villagers woke up to the sounds of Israeli surveyors surveying their lands and the plots where they have built their huts. The villagers gathered around the surveyors and pushed them off the land. Four weeks later, a Green Patrol arrived at the village and threatened them with expulsion if they interfered with the surveyors again. "Who allowed you to settle here? Why are you here? You have to move out or else," they were told.

Sheikh Hammad rushed to Knesset members and reporters. He announced a press conference to be held in the village in hope that the media would report his grievances. Villagers gathered in the village square and waited for the press to arrive, but only a man from the Haifa-based Arabic daily *Al Ittihad* came. They waited some more. Hours later a rented car pulled up and a group of camera-wielding foreigners approached the villagers. They had come there by mere chance. They were members of an American television crew who are filming a documentary on the "non-American" way of life that exists "overseas".

A villager who spoke some English approached the crew and attempted to explain to them what the tribe had gone through because of Israeli aggression. The crew, however, seemed uninterested. "Tell them that we hate this life and that we want to go back to our lands. Tell them that we had stone houses and land and sheep and trees." But the American cameraman seemed uninterested. Instead, he roamed around the village filming for the children of America "how other people live overseas." The village kids, meanwhile, followed the cameraman, each trying to get his attention and to have a part in his film. ■

Surprise, Surprise!

Washington Goes Public with Israeli Spy Scandal

by Ghassan Bishara

A radio talk show aired in Washington, DC contained a repartee between two disc jockies that went something like this: " 'Another spy was captured yesterday in Washington,' said one. 'So, what's new about that?' responded the other. 'Well, do you know who this new spy is working for?' He paused, then continued, 'Not for Russia, not for China, not for Syria and not even for Colonel Qaddafi; he is spying for Israel!' "

The morning talk show, aired on a rock music station, carried a report identifying Israel as the country which receives about US four billion dollars a year from America. The hosts of the show, therefore, sounded quite surprised about the revelation that Israel, in fact, spies on the US. It can be assumed that the hosts of the show were even more surprised when they heard that not only was Mr. Pollard spying on the US, but that his wife was as well.

Many more surprising details were to be uncovered as the story developed. Michael Saba, author of *The Armageddon Network*, a 1984 book on Israeli spying, said what surprised him most "was not the act *per se*, nor even the fact that he [Jonathan Pollard] got caught in it, but that it was made public, so public and so quickly."

Pollard, a 31-year-old American, was arrested in front of the Israeli Embassy on November 21, while trying to secure political asylum in Israel. Following his arrest, Pollard admitted that he was passing classified American documents to an Israeli connection and said that besides the Israeli Embassy, he was working for the Pakistani Embassy as well. The "Pakistani connection," however, was immediately diregarded for lack of substantiation, as some State Department officials put it.

Pollard, who at the time of his arrest was working for the Naval Research Intelligence Agency, was reportedly due to be promoted as head of the Middle East desk at that agency. The promotion was due despite reports in the American press that he often bragged about his close ties with the Israeli Mossad and that he, in fact, told fellow students at Stanford University that he was a colonel with the Mossad (Israeli intelligence). A few days later Pollard's 25-year-old wife, Anne Henderson-Pollard, who worked for a private consulting firm, was also arrested and charged with unauthorized possession of classified documents. If found guilty of these charges, Anne Henderson-Pollard could receive up to 10 years in prison. Her husband, on the other hand, was charged with espionage and, if convicted, could receive a life sentence.

Feeling Immune

The Pollard arrest for espionage — one of 13 in the last 12 months, and among five in a month's time — shocked the American public and questions began to surface about the government clearance procedure for sensitive positions. This is of particular concern in Pollard's case due to his well-known ties to Israel's intelligence community.

Israel's friends, said Saba, feel immune in the US. Pollard, who according to press reports boasted and at times even exaggerated his ties to the Israeli intelligence community, felt very secure in his work. The American atmosphere surrounding ties with Israel leads people such as Pollard to believe that passing "highly sensitive" documents from the US to Israel is not so treasonous. Israel, in the eyes of the American government, is the only democracy in the Middle East, the most powerful ally the US has in that region, the country with which the US has a strategic understanding.

Israel is the one country which receives more aid than any other in the world, due, it is believed here, to the extremely valuable services Israel provides for the United States. Passing highly classified documents to Israel, some would argue, is not high treason. This may have contributed to the feeling Pollard had of safety in cooperating with Israel. More importantly, argues Saba, is that Israel's allies feel "as though nobody can touch them, so they can go around bragging and boasting and doing whatever they want and get away with it." He went on to say that though they feel immune, "their strengths are becoming their weaknesses," and their excessiveness is beginning to show through.

Expression of Dismay

When Pollard was arrested on November 21, the US government requested that two Israeli scientific attaches, one in the Washington embassy and the other at the New York consulate, not leave the country so that US authorities might question them about the case. The US also asked that documents taken from the US be handed back. A week later, when Israel still hadn't responded to the American demands, the US expressed its dismay with Israel.

For a full eight days, the Israeli government made no comment about the Pollard case. The day after the arrest of Pollard, the two Israeli science attaches believed to be involved left the US for Israel, ignoring the American request that they remain. The US government, considering the special relationship that exists between the two countries, initially chose not to expel the Israelis who, according to a well-informed Israeli journalist here, were accredited diplomats. Normally in such cases, the US expels accused foreign spies if they are diplomats, and arrests them if they are civilians.

Israel, on the other hand, not only recalled the two officials to Tel Aviv, thus denying US officials the right to question them, but also refused to comply with certain American demands made more than a week earlier. With the American and foreign media following the case quite closely, the US State Department, after refusing for eight days to confirm that Pollard was indeed spying for Israel, was left with no choice but to do so. Charles Redman, the Department spokesperson, confirmed, for the first time on November 29, that a spy case against the US "in which Israeli officials are involved, has occurred."

Redman went further to reveal, in a prepared statement, that the official US call for Israel to fully cooperate with American officials and "provide us with all information it has in connection with the case, including the return of any documents, and access to Israeli officials involved," had not been answered. Regardless of the assurances of the Israeli authorities as to their willingness to cooperate, he continued, "they have not yet provided the full and prompt cooperation we requested a week ago." The spokesperson concluded by expressing US regret about the delay, and urged Israel to "respond promptly."

Israel's refusal to "respond promptly," it would appear, convinced the US to go public with the case. Another possible reason for the public disclosure, Saba argues, is the great number of Israeli spy cases uncovered in the US, and the frustration of FBI investigators at the constant dismissal of these cases. While researching his book, Saba said that he found that there were 10 to 50 such cases reported to the Department of Justice, only to be dropped by higher officials.

Saba, in fact, tells of private sources relating to him that "over 50 percent of the espionage investigations in this country, that are not Soviet related, involve Israel." The reason then for the official disclosure, Saba argues, is the pent up frustration of FBI agents, whose work when it comes to Israel is almost always foiled by high officials.

In the Pollard case, he adds, the FBI may have had a taped conversation between Pollard and the Israeli Embassy telling him that they could help him if he could manage to elude the FBI agents trailing him. Another theory is that the FBI may have tipped off the media to the case, who in turn witnessed and filmed the arrest of Pollard in front of the Israeli Embassy. Once the media got hold of the story, it became impossible to kill it, thus forcing US authorities to pursue the case until Israel delivered its "conditional" apology. Saba also theorized that the Washington media may have picked up on the police pursuit of Pollard over the police frequency, rather than having been tipped off by law enforcement personnel.

To American officials, Israel was seen as dragging its feet on the issue, thus causing the 'harsh' American rebuke of Israel. "We are dismayed that the government of Israel was not as forthcoming as we would have hoped and expected," Redman said in answering reporters' questions. The State Department spokesperson later added that the US doesn't believe that the normally good relations between Israel and the US have in any way changed. Those comments were made, it is believed, in order to assure Israel and its allies, most important among them the US Congress, that the special relationship with Israel will continue.

Senator Patrick Moynihan, Democrat from New York and former Vice Chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, sounded Congress' defense of Israel on ABC's "This Week With David Brinkley" on December 1. The Senator first argued that Israeli leaders didn't know why Pollard was spying on the US for Israel. He then reaffirmed the close and warm relations between the two countries, and implied that with Israel's "very handsome apology we can straighten this out in no time."

Sharing Intelligence Data

The US shares with Israel much of the intelligence data of direct concern to the country — up to 95 percent, argues Saba. Senator Moynihan, on the other hand, claimed on the Brinkley program that "we share a great deal" with them, but "not everything."

The US is known to have been providing Israel with data collected on the Middle East particularly concerning the military capabilities of some Arab countries. In a recently published book about the relations between Israel and the US, Wolf Blitzer, the *Jerusalem Post* correspondent in Washington, details the cooperation between the Israeli Mossad and the CIA, which he admits is pretty thorough. Saba agrees that Israel may get 90 to 95 percent of what it wants, but he adds, "the five to 10 percent that they don't get is the most critical and important to them." That remaining five to 10 percent, Saba believes, may include data about American installations and bases in the Middle East which the US may not be giving them.

The *Washington Post* on December 5 quoted foreign diplomats as saying that what Pollard supplied Israel with were, in part, "technical assessments of radar and other electronic equipment used by Egypt, Saudi Arabia and possibly Jordan, to monitor Middle East military activities." The *Post* goes on to say that, based on the same sources, Israel may also have received information about American vessels and their capabilities. Testimony in the Pollard case already reveals that Israel is interested in, and Pollard delivered, data about Arab countries considered friendly to the US. Israel already receives, on an official basis, information about those hostile to the US from American governmental sources. Information supplied by Pollard, argues Saba, is basically used to verify data provided to Israel by the many other "Pollards" in the US.

Although the purpose of Pollard's spying was, in part, to secure data from the US about the Arab states, according to US sources, lack of Arab comment throughout the controversy was "painful" to Arab and Palestinian observers in Washington. The State Department spokesperson repeatedly said that no protests to speak of were communicated to the US by any Arab country. Another State Department source revealed that not one Arab country came forward to protest the possible implications this could have for their security and well-being in the region.

An American journalist, commenting on the lack of Arab concern expressed to the US about the Pollard case, said jokingly that perhaps not many Arab governments were even aware of the case. Michael Saba, when asked to comment about this lack of Arab concern, said that some of these governments are convinced that many of the American officials they deal with are "directly or indirectly working for Israel. At the same time, these people are American citizens and officials of the US government. They believe that a protest against such people would be unacceptable to the US."

This case of Israeli espionage against the US, it should be remembered, is not the first, just as it will not be the last. A few years back, Israeli operatives in the US illegally transferred enriched uranium from a nuclear plant in Pennsylvania. The uranium, it was later revealed, was used to aid in the development of Israel's military nuclear industry.

In the spring of this year, Richard Kelly Smyth was captured for illegally exporting to Israel krytron microswitches which are used in a precision timing device for nuclear weapons. Mr. Smyth, we were told by the State Department spokesperson, was indicated by the US Attorney's Office in Los Angeles, but failed to appear for his trial on August. He is now a fugitive with a warrant out for his arrest. Israel, we were told in a written statement, returned all unused krytrons to the US, used some in "industries related to defense programs for research, development and testing applications, such as laser range finders, and has assured us that they were not used for nuclear purposes."

In his radio address to the nation November 30, before Israel's "conditional" apology was made public, US President, Reagan referred to the many spy cases against the US without mentioning Pollard's by name. He said that the US would try spies of all nations and let the chips fall where they may. The chips apparently didn't fall far enough to reach Israel, nor did they fall hard enough to make them adhere to US requests. Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres' apology the next day did not confirm his government involvement in the case. Peres promised that his government, not an independent commission, would investigate the affair and if spying against the US "did take place," then action would be taken against those involved.

The Israeli prime minister failed to meet the initial American demands for access to those individuals involved and the return of the documents delivered to the Israeli diplomats by Pollard. Nevertheless, attempts were underway to sweep the case under the rug and forget about it. Israel leaked information to the effect that Americans have also been caught spying against Israel, and so not much should be made out of this case. The US rejected this assertion, claiming that in accordance with governmental policy, it would not discuss intelligence matters.

What was of the greatest surprise to many Middle East experts in the US was the fact that the American government went public with this case, yet all believe that soon the issue will be forgotten. Michael Saba agrees with that analysis. He believes that "deals were made behind the scenes" in order to "dilute the case or put a damper on it. So, I think," he concluded, "it will be covered up." ■

Book Review

Jonas' Vengeful Spy Story Proves Embarrassment to Israel

Book Review
by A. Clare Brandabur

Vengeance *by George Jonas. Canada: Lester & Orpen Dennys, Ltd., 1984; New York: Simon & Schuster, 1984, 383 pp. $3.95 (paper);*

The Israeli secret-service organization known as Mossad is like the Eagles' famous *'Hotel California:* "You can check out any time you like, but you can *never* leave." This is the theme of *Vengeance.*

The author, George Jonas, documents the exploits of a disaffected Israeli terrorist who was selected by Mossad Chief Major General Zvi Zamir, and then by Prime Minister Golda Meir and General Ariel Sharon, to wreak "vengeance" on Palestinians in the aftermath of the 1972 Munich Olympics disaster. His assignment: to assassinate 11 Palestinian leaders who, according to his employers, had been responsible for shedding Israeli blood.

The book recounts an over-zealous execution of this grim assignment — the death-squad gratuitously added names to the list as they found occasion. Son of a ruined Mossad agent, the protagonist "Avner" disregards his father's warning that he will be used and discarded. Faithful to his assignment and acting out of personal ambition as much as patriotism, Avner devotes several years of his young life to murder, dealing with occasional, dull pricks of conscience — such banal reflections as "perhaps on a higher level it all made perfect sense." (p.142).

The first victim of Avner's hit team is Wael Zuaiter, editor of the Italian edition of the Palestine Liberation Organization newsletter and spokesman in Italy for the Palestine national movement. Zuaiter was totally opposed to violence and worked tirelessly for a peaceful solution to the Palestinian problem. Avner's 'brave' team stalks Zuaiter and shoots him in the back as he enters his hotel, knowing full-well that he is unarmed and without a bodyguard.

Perhaps the most genuine expression of Avner's qualms of conscience surfaces in the recounting of this assassination: It is the first and it is carried out at close range, rather than by radio-triggered remote explosives and is, therefore, more shocking. Avner reflects on the murder: Zuaiter may have been merely "a penniless poet, a harmless intellectual. A displaced person, a homeless immigrant translator, maybe with some natural sympathy for the cause of his people. A man who could not even pay his telephone bills. Carrying his supper home in a bag. *What if that was all he was?... What if somebody back home had made a mistake?"* [Reviewer's italics.]

Avner develops additional doubts when he finds it necessary to collaborate with the Bader-Meinhof Gang in order to get intelligence about the Palestinians on his hit list. He is convinced that the tremendous sums of money that he pays for this information are used to further terrorism in Europe; also, he has been assured by the Israelis that they sometimes go toward support of Palestinian operations. The vicious circle thus created seems to bother Avner very little.

Avner, however, has more profound doubts about the entire rationale behind the mission. According to his boss Ephraim, killing these Palestinian leaders will destroy the monster of terrorism that is spreading across Europe and the Middle East, endangering Jewish lives. But Avner comes to question this premise, finding that other leaders replace those who were murdered. Though the author, Jonas, does not articulate the reasons for this Israeli strategy, it is clear that its intention is to goad the Palestinians into more violent resistance by killing their cultural and political leaders — respected authors and poets such as Wael Zuaiter, Ghassan Kanafani, and Kamal Nasser make the Palestinian position understandable to literate audiences around the world. The myth of "poor little Israel up against wild-eyed terrorists" is much easier to maintain when the Palestinians can be perceived as terrorists rather than as poets and intellectuals.

Even for a murderer, Avner is a curiously unsympathetic character. He reveals — notwithstanding protestations of patriotism for Israel — a kind of racism not only toward Arabs, but toward other Jews. He regards himself as superior to the "vulgar, pushy, know-nothing lot of Eastern European Jews," because *he* is "a civilized, sophisticated sabra of West European roots" (p.24). His distaste for the majority of Jews extends even to the "air" — by strong implication, both the "Galicianers" and the Oriental Jews who had become a majority. He feels he does not belong in the Middle East, but in Austria or, preferably, New York. The strange kid in the kibbutz, he feels himself an outsider and consoles himself with fantasies of being John Wayne [he loves American films] (p.23).

Avner may have lived out the fantasy of being "the fastest gun in the Middle East," but his exploits are criminal rather than heroic — Avner takes credit for having supplied logistical support and planning in the April 10, 1973, assault on Palestinian headquarters and residences in Beirut in which Kamal Nasser, Kamal Adwan, and Muhammad Yusef Najjar were murdered, in addition to between 20 and 100 other Palestinians and Lebanese. Though Golda Meir was pleased with the Beirut attack and praised it ("It was very marvelous because we killed the murderers who were planning to murder again"), "The official Egyptian radio said that it was 'not an act of confrontation or fighting against the commandos, but a gang act similar to those carried out by the Mafia and other American underworld gangs" (*The New York Times*, April 11, 1973).

After having succeeded beyond success, having murdered even more Palestinians than his job description requires, Avner is nonetheless betrayed by his masters: Asked to undertake still more murders in South America, Avner refuses, desiring only to settle down in New York with his wife and daughter. Not only is his entire salary removed from his Swiss bank account, but Israeli operatives try to kidnap his daughter in order to force him to continue in their service. He deals with this maneuver in true terrorist fashion. After a few hours of hasty research, Avner presents his Mossad contacts with photographs of the children of several of his high-placed colleagues, specifying their schools, their schedules, their routes of travel to and from their homes. He vows that if any harm comes to his daughter, every one of these children will be executed.

Even author George Jonas claims not to know whether Avner is totally what he claims to be, though he accepts the story as fundamentally true. *Vengeance* may be a mixture of fact and fiction (for a thorough investigation of the status of such books, see Philip Taubman [*The New York Times*, May 2, 1984], who places it in the same category as John Dean's *Blind Ambition* and Woodward and Bernstein's *All the President's Men.*) But it raises many important questions. Oddly enough it contains a serious discussion of the moral distinction between terror and counter-terror, concluding piously that, while "it is possible to say that the Palestinian cause is as honorable as the Israeli cause, it is not possible to say that terror is as honorable as resisting terror" (p.358).

Perhaps because of the transparent hypocrisy of this "moral," *Vengeance* has proved to be an embarrassment rather than a propaganda piece for Israel. Could this be the reason why my local Kramer's book store could not locate the title in *Books in print?* ■

Israeli Press Wake Up to Land Scam

by Michael Lowry

That occupation and corruption go hand in hand is now News in Israel. The politics of occupation, from mass repression to foreign war, aroused the indignation of a sector of the Israeli public, but the great majority never perceived the exercise of Israeli power in the occupied territories as scandalous. For some, it is a "regrettable yet necessary evil" dictated by Israel's security interests; for others, it is part and parcel of the "messianic process" dictated by God. Excessive greed and deviousness didn't enter into the picture. At least until now.

Gindi's arrest and police allegations of graft in the Ministry of Agriculture under the Likud foretell a major scandal, one that has been brewing since summer. The "settlement of Judea and Samaria" is now coming into focus: theft, fraud, grafters galore, political corruption, all the ingredients necessary for the maintenance of a colonial regime. Yet scant mention has been made in the Israeli media of the Palestinian landowners who were robbed; unlike "naive" Israeli buyers, they do not fall under the category of victims.

In the meantime, the proverbial dirt is flying and the Labor Party isn't prepared to shut off the fan. Over the past couple of years, all of Begin's inflated political programs, from the "liberalization of the economy" to the Lebanon war, have proven to be total disasters.

The "settlement of Judea and Samaria" is now being revealed to be a land scam of epic proportions. Israel is in the throes of a recession. The state's northern border is less secure today than it was three and a half years ago when the Israeli army invaded Lebanon. Begin promised "Great Times".

No wonder he's locked himself up.

After a brief lapse, the West Bank land scam has returned to the front pages of the Israeli press. At the beginning of the month, building magnate Avraham Gindi — a household name in Israel — was arrested on suspicion of engaging in fraudulent land deals on the West Bank.

At present, the case seems to be converging on former Deputy Minister of Agriculture Micha'el Dekel, who has just been appointed Deputy Minister of Defense. Ron Kislev of *HaAretz* wrote on December 4 that Dekel's appointment "is being pursued with the declared purpose of making him responsible for the settlement of the West Bank. Meanwhile, in Petach Tikva, there's a special police unit investigating land fraud on the West Bank and Dekel's name keeps on cropping up."

Kislev further writes that "as Deputy Minister of Agriculture under Begin and Shamir, Dekel was responsible for settlement on the West Bank. Without a doubt, Dekel succeeded in leaving his mark on what was happening there, or more specifically, on the West Bank land scramble, both in regard to land theft and fraudulent land sales that hurt thousands of innocent buyers.

"Things really started moving in the sale of West Bank land after Dekel succeeded in passing a decision through the government allowing private parties to purchase Arab land and initiate the establishment of settlements outside the framework of the government's settlement program. He granted letters of congratulation and gratitude to every 'initiator' willing to jump into the turbid waters of West Bank land deals."

One of the results of this, writes Kislev, was a string of fictitious residential settlements such as *Nofim*, *Kramim* and *Ramat Kidron*. "The Gindi brothers would not have succeeded in selling

Construction magnate Avraham Lindi

bogus plots to naive Israelis without two letters from Deputy Minister Dekel's office which authorized that 'the establishment of the settlement has been approved by the appropriate bodies.' These letters were signed by Dekel's personal aide, Avi Tzur, and Dekel himself signed one of the letters congratulating the contractors on their initiative. Is there a possibility that these two letters, which are patently false and which were used to mislead potential buyers, were issued from Dekel's office without his knowledge?"

The day after this article appeared, Avi Tzur, a former aide to Dekel and at present the Airports Authority spokesperson, was remanded by the Tel Aviv Magistrates Court on suspicion of taking bribes. He is also suspected of issuing false documents. Another former Dekel aide, Claude Malka, was also remanded on suspicion of having committed similar offenses.

Avi Tzur in court.

That same day, "at a hastily called meeting of Herut ministers and MKs in Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir's office at Herut headquarters in Tel Aviv, it was decided to try to forestall the snowballing of the investigation of the land scam in the territories. It was also decided to rebuff all accusations against Deputy Defense Minister Micha'el Dekel with the argument that they are politically motivated. There was great embarrassment at the meeting over the arrest of former Dekel aide Avi Tzur" (*Al Hamishmar*, December 6, 1985).

On Friday, December 6, *HaAretz* ran the following headline: "LEGAL SOURCES: INVESTIGATORS OF THE KRAMIM AND KLAYIM AFFAIR WILL APPARENTLY QUESTION DEKEL." The report forecasted that Dekel would be called in to be questioned by the police. "It's possible that other people connected with the issue of settlement in the territories will also be questioned," said the report.

It now appears that "the police suspect West Bank land contractors and dealers of making donations to the Likud as bribes. These details were uncovered yesterday in the Tel Aviv Magistrates Court that remanded Avi Tzur for six days in order to allow the continuation of the investigation against him." The report goes on to say that it has become known that "the police have documents and testimonies regarding the transfer of funds to the account of the Likud by private individuals, among whom are middlemen, land dealers, and people with an interest in the issue of land in 'the territories'" (*HaAretz*, December 6, 1985).

It seems that part of these funds were transferred by Avi Tzur. The police suspect Tzur of accepting bribes amounting to tens of thousands of dollars for himself and much more for the coffers of the Likud.

Hence, the Likud's attempt to hush up the whole affair and accuse the Labor Party of "turning the police into a political weapon" in the words of Likud member Haim Kaufman. An *Al Hamishmar* editorial, on December 6, referred to a statement made by Deputy

Micha'el Dekel, newly-appointed deputy defense minister.

Foreign Minister Roni Milo who claimed the Police Minister Haim Bar-Lev "has set himself the goal of defaming the Likud." The paper argues that Bar-Lev has given the police a free hand, releasing them from former political constraints. An independent police force seems to threaten Milo, argues the paper. "What is he afraid of?" ■

US Psychology

Continued from page 6

his book *They Dare To Speak Out*, describes how Israel urgently requested a supply of 90 millimeter rounds during its 1973 war with Egypt and Syria. The Pentagon made a thorough search for the ammunition but could find none and so informed Israel. Within days Israel sent a message stating that 15,000 rounds could be found in the Marine Corps supply depot in Hawaii. To the surprise of the Pentagon, the ammunition was there.

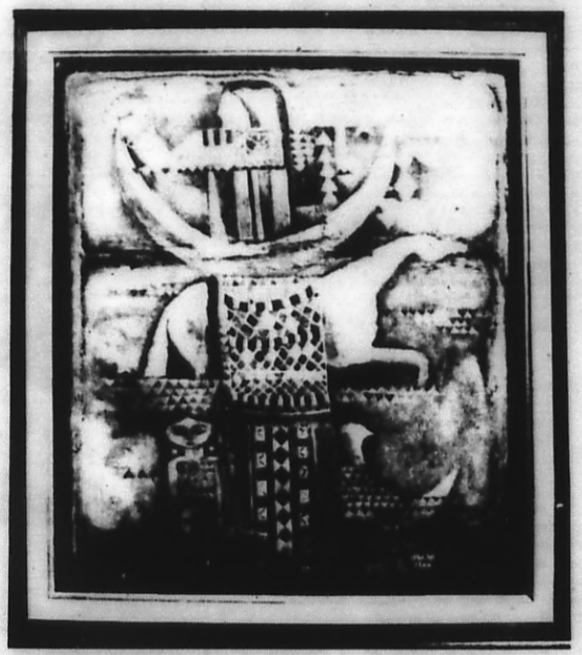
The Pollard case leaves a multitude of unanswered questions, including what level in the Israeli government this operation reached and how extensive were the activities of the data-gathering units. These questions are not likely to be answered. Since the public's memory is short, the case of the spy for Israel will soon be forgotten and Israel, with characteristic aplomb, will surely ask for — and receive — increased US aid.

The US is aware of Israel's methods of "intelligence-gathering" but still rewards its ally for reckless behavior. It is not inconceivable that America desires this reckless behavior, thus encouraging an image of Israel as a daredevil. Such a reckless state can safely act as America's agent and openly support repressive regimes in South Africa and Central America, support that the US can not directly engage in for fear of resistance by the American public. Thus the tempest in a teapot the US administration and media have created over the Pollard affair is sure to be billed soon as a "Comedy of Errors" and relegated to history books and off-Broadway productions where no damage to the unique US-Israel relationship can be done. ■

Karen Lende is a member of Al Fajr's *staff.*

Palestine and Culture

Londoners Get Glimpse of Palestine



Nabil Anani's painting on display in London.

by Irene Ertugrul
Our London Correspondent

During the past two weeks, Londoners have had the opportunity to familiarize themselves with many facets of Palestinian culture. At the spacious Mall Gallery, near Trafalgar Square, an extensive collection of traditional costumes, jewelry and examples of craft work in glass, ceramics, mother of pearl and olive wood were on display November 30 to December 7.

The manner in which Palestinians have traditionally lived was also seen. A full-sized beduin tent spanned one corner of the hall, sheltering all of the utilitarian but artistically wrought equipment needed for their nomadic way of life. In another area, the living quarters of a peasant home were reproduced. A cluster of tables and chests, made of olive wood inlaid with mother of pearl, and a mass of colorfully embroidered cushions were grouped together to indicate the kind of furnishings preferred by city dwellers.

Old photographs and sketches of Palestine, interspersed with contemporary paintings by prominent Palestinian artists, lined the long walls of the Gallery. Suleiman Mansour, Nabil Anani, Taysir Barakat, and Isam Badr were among those from the occupied territories whose works were on sale. Paintings were also contributed by Jumana Husseini, Samia Zaru and other artists who live outside Palestine. Especially striking were four large canvasses, harshly brushed in black and white. Entitled "Sabra and Shatila", these commemorations were the work of Dia Azzawi, an Iraqi painter.

Baskets heaped with spices used in Palestinian cookery comprised yet another display and, throughout the day, a variety of songs popular among Palestinians could be heard softly playing in the hall. An especially commendable feature of the exhibit was the fact that very knowledgeable and enthusiastic guides (themselves wearing traditional dresses) took the initiative in approaching visitors. They shepherded them through the exhibit, not only explaining the subtle differences in patterns of embroidery but, more importantly, providing Londoners with personal contact with Palestinians who transcend the static labels accompanying the objects displayed.

This year's exhibit of Palestinian culture was much more elaborate than were similar efforts made by local groups in the two previous years. The world's headlines have recently been dominated by violence in which Palestinians of various factions have been involved. Alternatively, the media has had to report the slaughter of Palestinian refugees in their camps in Lebanon.

Under these circumstances, the British Friends of Palestine - an umbrella group for organizations sympathetic to the plight of the Palestinians - felt it was important that the British public be shown its diversity and was becoming a two-track stereotype. They commissioned the Palestinian Red Crescent to put together an exhibit which would tangibly demonstrate the rich cultural heritage with which Palestinians everywhere identify. The objects displayed at the Gallery were, in part, borrowed from the Red Crescent's permanent exhibits at its premises in Cairo and Athens.

Leading up to the exhibit was a gala concert at the prestigious Festival Hall, in London's South Bank Cultural Complex. Three thousand people attended a program in solidarity with the Palestinian cause. Music from El Salvador, Jamaica, Africa, India and an American folk group preceeded the most exciting appearance of the evening. Flown in specially from the West Bank for the occasion was the *Surdah* (who name their troupe after their village near Ramallah) *dabkeh* troupe. Its 14 members — for the most part, boys still in their teens — gave such a polished performance November 30 of their own interpretation of the *dabkeh* that the audience rose to its feet in cheers. The *Surdah* troupe also gave a brief informal performance at the Mall Gallery during the reception held on the evening of the exhibit's opening day.

Less of a success than the arts exhibit and the Festival Hall concert were the four days of events that took place the preceding week November 26-29 at the Camden Center in north London. Appearances by Mustafa al-Kurd brightened two of the evenings and occasional performances by Jabal al-Nar, a folk group recently put together from among Palestinian students studying in the United Kingdom, reminded the audience all too rarely that the theme of the evenings was supposed to be "Palestine". Otherwise, under the rubric of "solidarity" with other third world causes, most of the other scheduled performers dwelt not only on their own national tragedies but also on a bewildering variety of more general social ills — from unemployment in the United Kingdom to child abuse. Needless to say, in regard to this segment of the overall program, a shorter, more sharply focused schedule of events would have been more effective. ■

PUT PALESTINE IN YOUR POCKET
A NEW DIRECTORY OF PALESTINIAN PEOPLE AND PLACES

DIRECTORIES OF THE WEST BANK, GAZA STRIP AND PRE-1967 PALESTINE
HISTORICAL OVERVIEW
IMPORTANT DATES
MAPS
MAJOR UN RESOLUTIONS
PLO STRUCTURE
USEFUL ARABIC PHRASES
CONVERSION TABLES, CALENDARS ETC.

* JOURNALISTS * ACADEMICS * POLITICAL ACTIVISTS * VISITORS *

AL FAJR has prepared a comprehensive pocket diary containing local information on the WEST BANK, GAZA STRIP and PRE 1967 PALESTINE.
Such information is often difficult to find and has never before been compiled in one place.
The AL FAJR DIARY contains addresses and phone numbers of:
* LAWYERS * MUNICIPALITIES * UNIVERSITIES * PRESS * ORGANIZATIONS * INDUSTRY * ETC. IN ALL THE MAJOR CITIES *
As well as HOTELS RESTAURANTS TRANSPORTATION in Jerusalem.

Please send me the AL FAJR DIARY.
No. of copies.....
Name.....
Address.....
Enclosed is a cheque for.....
Mail to: Al Fajr Palestinian Weekly, PO Box 19315, East Jerusalem, via Israel.

This compact diary (8.5 X 16 cm) is available from AL FAJR.
The AL FAJR DIARY costs only US$5 (£4) including postage.
Special rates for bulk purchases.

A New Settlement Assault

The Israeli press and media continue to highlight the appointment of Micha'el Dekel (Likud) as Deputy to the Israeli Defense Minister, Rabin. The cause of this ado is that Dekel is connected with the land fraud case in the West Bank. He is accused of participating in the suspicious land deals which were reported for some time and then completely forgotten. It is natural to appoint such a figure in an official post because the Likud and the Ma'rach see eye to eye on the settlement issue. His appointment is an endorsement of the methods employed to plunder Arab land. It also means that a new settlement assault is in the offing.

AL SHA'AB
December 6

Narrowing the Gap

It is being reported that the American envoy, Murphy, declared that the gap separating Jordan, Syria and the PLO, on one hand, and Israel on the other, is being narrowed. This means there will be a breakthrough. In the past we had high hopes of an imminent solution. But our hopes were dashed. In order not to have illusions this time, we'd like to know what happened to narrow the gap *between the diverging positions* of the Arabs and the US and Israel. Did the US declare its acceptance of an international conference with PLO participation? Or did the Arabs agree to bilateral talks with Israel? We do not think any party has changed its position. It could be that one party is considering the possibility of changing its positions. We hope that it is not the Arabs who would offer the service described by the US as narrowing the gap.

AL QUDS
December 6

Nabil Badran Old Akka

The local press focused this week on three main issues; the hunger strikes in four prisons, the Israeli government controversy over the Likud's involvement in the land scam in the West Bank, and the visit by the French Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Roland Dumas, to Israel.

In addition to that, the papers covered other local and Arab issues. *Al Sha'ab* highlighted the visit by Syrian premier Dr. Abd al-Ra'ouf al-Kasem to Jordan in one of its issues. *Al Fajr* gave prominence to a Fatah Force 17 statement which claimed responsibility for the killing of an Israeli soldier.

In their editorials, the Palestinian papers also discussed the main events of the week. *Al Sha'ab* published two editorials on the involvement of the Likud in the fraudulent land deals. The paper said that as long as the settlement process goes on, fraudulent land deals are going to continue.

***Al Quds* also discussed the Syrian-Jordanian rapprochement and urged that the PLO be brought into this rapprochement.**

Taba and the Expected Test

The Taba talks are indicative of the difficulties to be encountered when negotiations for a peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict begin. How many years would it take to engage in negotiations to settle this conflict? To maintain the *status quo* in Taba, Israel constructed a hotel there. The dispute over Taba is a fateful one because it is a real test of Israel's intentions toward peace. If Israel persists in its position and aborts all Egyptian attempts to restore Taba, then this will be a fatal blow to the peace negotiations, even before they start. But if Israel retreats in its position, this will help the peace process. Israel cannot keep the occupied territories forever. It has to choose between peace and land. It has to realize that the Arabs will never accept anything that ignores the Palestinian rights.

AL QUDS
December 7

Land... and the Political Game

The Israeli coalition government is deeply involved in the land fraud case in the occupied West Bank and Gaza. The Herut held a meeting in Tel Aviv to address the problem after two of its active members — Avi Tzur and Micha'el Dekel — were implicated. The Ma'rach was relieved by this escalation. The issue is not that of usurped Arab land, but, rather, a pure political one related to the traditional competition between the two parties. Begin's government raised the issue and then stifled it. It later reappeared with the case of the West Bank judges. Now we have the crime of the assassination of Aziz Shehadeh, who is reported to have investigated parts of the land fraud case. Will the matter be glossed over once more? No one knows. But we do know that the Israeli media, while dealing with the case, ignore the rightful owners of the land. The Israeli press do not even refer to the fact that the direct cause of all the fraud is the settlement policy. For, as long as settlement continues and the political game remains the dominant factor, the talk about any illegal acts will remain incomplete and ineffective.

AL FAJR
December 9

Land Fraud Case

We don't know how far the investigation will go into the land fraud deals in the West Bank. But we are sure the investigation will remain confined to the framework of settling accounts between the two major Israeli parties. It will never touch upon the illegality of settlement and occupation. It is worth noting that the commotion aroused a few months ago over land fraud has been glossed over. It only re-emerged with the appointment of Dekel as deputy defense minister. While we demand that all secrets be revealed, we are sure that that will never happen because both the Ma'rach and the Likud are in agreement on the plundering of Arab land.

AL SHA'AB
December 9

Another Security Plan in Lebanon

Lebanon has been suffering from the woes of civil war for the last decade. The situation has worsened as a result of foreign interference and internationalization of the crisis. This culminated with the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982. With the recession of the Israeli presence, Lebanon began to heal its wounds in the intensified political presence of Syria. The inter-Lebanese contacts, under the auspices of Syria, resulted in the political agreement, known as the Damascus accords, which remained nothing more than a piece of paper. With the eruption of fighting in West Beirut, hopes are pinned on implementing a partial security plan in West Beirut. We wish Lebanon every success in implementing the new plan.

AL QUDS
December 9

Egypt and the Regime's Debts

The Egyptian regime is deep in debt at the expense of the people. This is an inevitable result of the regime's policy related to the imperialist camp, especially the American one. The open economic policy initiated by Sadat and continued by Mubarak damaged Egypt's economy, which Nasser built and which under him almost achieved self-sufficiency. The present policy of the regime opened the door to the return of foreign capital which dealt a blow to the national capital and manipulated the profitable projects. Besides, this policy filled Egypt with foreign products that competed with local ones. In addition to that, the regime almost liquidated the public sector. Despite all this, we are sure the people will move to correct things in Egypt.

AL MITHAQ
December 9

Top Likud Officials Implicated in Land Deals

The West Bank land scandal has continued to mushroom. By Thursday December 12, it threatened to implicate top Likud officials, Yitzhak Shamir and Ariel Sharon.

The Hebrew daily *HaAretz* quoted December 12 an unnamed land entrepreneur that "Minister Shamir and the Likud leaders know why they've been worried and anxious over the last few days in the wake of police investigations into [West Bank] land [deals]. If I'm put on trial for illegal land acquisition, I'll have top figures called to the witness stand, among them Yitzhak Shamir and Arik Sharon, who pushed me and many others to buy more and more land [on the West Bank] and to set up as many projects as we could in the [occupied] territories... if I open my mouth, there will be a sensation."

The entrepreneur, known to be connected with many West Bank land deals, went on to say that top government officials and people in top Likud posts had told him and his colleagues to rush into land purchases and not worry about the deeds. "Everything will be OK," they promised. "There's no need to worry about papers. We'll fix everything. We must establish ourselves on the land quickly."

The above is only the latest of a steady stream of revelations about the land scandal, which over the past weeks have come increasingly to revolve around corruption and bribery under the Likud government. According to the police, West Bank land entrepreneurs made regular contributions to the Likud in exchange for preferential treatment. Avi Tzur, an aide to former Deputy Agriculture Minister Micha'el Dekel and a member of Likud, is being held at the police Special Crime Unit on suspicion of siphoning off some of the monies meant for the Likud into his own pocket and for accepting bribes. Dekel, who last week assumed the post of deputy defense minister, is expected to be called into the police this coming week for interrogation.

The Likud has reacted to the affair by charging that the police are being manipulated by the Labor party, which, it claims, is intent on disgracing both the Likud and West Bank settlement projects. One of the most vociferous campaigners of the Likud is Deputy Foreign Minister Roni Milo, who throughout the week charged Police Minister Haim Bar-Lev with exploiting the police for partisan purposes. However, it has emerged that Milo is not a disinterested party to the affair. According to *HaAretz* reporter Ron Kislev, Milo's law office was involved in drawing up deeds for fraudulent land transactions.

According to reports in *HaAretz* and *Yediot Aharonot* December 9, senior members of the Likud have destroyed lists of contributors to the Likud who are in one way or another connected with West Bank land deals. (For earlier story see page 10.)

On Wednesday December 11, *Yediot Aharonot* published an interview with Dekel in which he said: "God forbid that I took money for myself. I personally am not in need of money... Entrepreneurs and contracters that built in 'Judea and Samaria' [West Bank and Gaza — ed.] contributed to the Likud. I personally asked them to contribute.

"They were interested in helping the Likud in the elections, because they knew that if Labor came to power there was a chance that 'Judea and Samaria' [West Bank and Gaza — ed.] would be returned. I'm not ashamed of the contributions. I don't see anything wrong with that. If only all the entrepreneurs and contractors would contribute. I spoke with each and every one of them and asked them to contribute."

Hassan Halawani (in suit) in West Germany

Palestinian Earns Dan3 Belt

For the first time, a Palestinian from the occupied territories has earned a Dan-3 degree black belt in Karate. Trainer Hassan Sa'ad al-Din al-Halawani, deputy secretary of the Palestinian Judo and Karate Association in Jerusalem, obtained this degree with highest honors from the Japanese Wudu Kai Karate World Federation in West Germany. He also passed an extensive course of "Kando" and another course of the Japanese "Massag Shakso". Halawani also participated in many Karate courses in West Germany. Halawani (on far right) is shown with the other black belt holders.

1500

Continued from page 1

the East Jerusalem office of the Red Cross in support of their sons' demands. They began the strike December 9 after news of the hunger strike reached beyond the prison walls. A similar strike was organized December 12 by relatives of striking political prisoners in Jnaid at the Nablus offices of the Red Cross.

The mothers urged officials at the Red Cross to visit the striking prisoners to check on their health and offer them medical treatment if necessary. They said they have been barred from visiting their sons since December 5.

The Red Cross pays sporadic visits to the prisons but stays out of political disputes. It has a policy of not talking to the press regarding measures it takes to guarantee prisoners receive the minimum of humanitarian treatment.

The mothers also urged international and local human rights organizations to intervene on behalf of the striking prisoners.

Political prisoners in Israel and the occupied territories have been leading a continuous campaign over the past several months demanding improvement of their conditions. The prisoners have regularly complained that they were mistreated and denied the most basic human needs. The Prison Authority rarely listens to the prisoners' demands.

Former political prisoners have reported how it was impossible to get the Prison Authority to introduce improvements in prison conditions without them reverting to serious protests like hunger strikes. In the 1980 Nafha Prison hunger strike, the jailers agreed to some of the prisoners' demands but not before two of the prisoners died.

US Lawyers Urge End to Deportation Proceedings

Four prominent US attorneys demand "the immediate rescinding of deportation orders against four Palestinians from the occupied territories."

The message came in a letter to Israel's Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin November 22.

The four attorneys are Marc Van Der Hout, president of the National Lawyers Guild; Wilhelm Joeseph, co-chair of the National Conference of Black Lawyers; Mary Rita Luecke, vice-president of the National Lawyers Guild; and Michael Steven Smith, editorial board member of the *Guild Notes*. The four visited the occupied territories early in November to investigate prison conditions of four detainees slated for deportation.

The four Palestinians are Dr. Azmi Shu'aibi of al-Bireh, journalist Hassan Abd al-Jawad of Dheisheh Refugee Camp near Bethlehem, unionist Ali Abu Hilal of Abu Dis village near Jerusalem and freed prisoner Zaki Statieh of Jabalya Refugee Camp in the Gaza Strip. They have been in Israeli jails since October 27.

A MESSAGE TO OUR READERS

AL FAJR wants to publish information about individuals and organizations that will be of interest to our readers, in a new 'people' column.

Please let us know about

- **events, seminars, symposia;**
- **accomplishments and travel plans of individuals;**
- **tours to the Middle East;**
- **personnel changes and new offices;**
- **new publications from organizations;**
- **anything else you feel our readers may want to know.**

Send items to:
AL FAJR Palestinian Weekly
P.O. Box 19315
East Jerusalem
via Israel

In US and Japan:
AL FAJR Palestinian Weekly
2025 I St. NW, Suite 925
Washington, DC 20006

New Belgian Consul in East Jerusalem

A new consul general has been appointed to the East Jerusalem Belgian Consulate. Mr. Raymond du Moulin arrived in Jerusalem last month to accept his new position. Before his arrival, Mr. du Moulin filled the post of minister-counsellor, deputy head of the Belgian delegation to the Stockholm Conference on Disarmament in Europe.

Mr. du Moulin was born in Brussels in 1924. He began his diplomatic career in 1947. Until 1974, he served in various Latin American countries, in Mozambique, in Paris as the permanent Belgian delegate to NATO, and in Stockholm. He was appointed deputy consul general in New York in 1974, and consul general in Istanbul, Turkey, in 1979.

A Belgian Consulate press release said Mr. du Moulin "is deeply interested in all aspects of intellectual and cultural life, especially in the fields of art and architecture."

Raymond du Moulin

Mr. du Moulin replaces Ms. Lucie de Myttenaere who served as consul general in East Jerusalem for one year. Her term ended in September. Ms. de Myttenaere is currently serving in the Belgian foreign ministry in Brussels.

MERIP REPORTS

MERIP Reports began in 1971 as a few mimeographed sheets providing information and analysis to the alternative media on US policy in the Middle East and on the political economy of the area. It grew into a magazine respected in its own right, produced by the MERIP collective, on the proposition that

"The Middle East, including the Palestine question, is best understood in terms of class and social forces at work in those societies, and in the intersection of those forces with foreign capital and state interests."

Fifteen years later, MERIP Reports is the largest circulating monthly that has consistently been both a source and an outlet for independent, critical analyses of Middle East developments by respected writers and scholars from around the world. MERIP's ability to continue this work depends on its readers, old and new. Subscribe today.

Recent issues: Labor Migration, The PLO and Jordan, Assad's Syria, Sudan, Lebanon's Shi'a, Women in the Middle East.

October/November/December
Special Issue on the Occupied Territories

Annual subscription: US$18.00
Additional postage outside US: US$4.00 (surface); US$16.00 (airmail)

name:
address:
amount enclosed:

Send to: MERIP Reports, Room 518, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, NY 10115

December 5

HEBRONITE JAILED FOR STONE-THROWING

A 16-year-old boy from the Hebron area was sentenced to nine months in prison and nine months suspended by an Israeli military court on charges of throwing stones at Israeli army patrols.

THREE GAZANS GET STIFF SENTENCES

An Israeli military court in Gaza sentenced Musa Muhammad al-Ghul, 25, of Gaza, to 10 years in jail and five years suspended on charges of illegal possession of weapons. The court also sentenced Yusef Abdel Karim, 21, of Gaza, to three-and-a-half years in prison and a similar suspended sentence on identical charges. Hussein Kamel Badawi Saleh, 22, of Jabalya Refugee Camp was sentenced by the same court to three-and-a-half years in prison and a similar suspended sentence on charges of membership in a Palestinian organization.

EXPLOSIVE CHARGE IN HAIFA

Israeli police sources said that a small charge went off in downtown Haifa. No injuries or damage were reported. The police rounded up a large number of Arabs.

PETROL BOMB AT MILITARY VEHICLE IN GAZA

A petrol bomb was thrown at an Israeli military vehicle west of Khan Yunis. A large Israeli force rushed to the place and rounded up all men. Three Arabs were taken into custody, 23-year-old Raji Hussein Abu Amrah, 28-year-old Khaled Yusuf Abu Amrah and 39-year-old Yusuf Mahmoud Abu Amrah. All are residents of al-Mawasi area, Khan Yunis.

PALESTINE HERITAGE AT BETHLEHEM UNIVERSITY

A Palestinian heritage exhibit opened at Bethlehem University for three days. The exhibit, which includes Palestinian costume and *dabkeh*, is sponsored by the Heritage Club at the university.

UNRWA TO ABSORB 235 GRADUATES IN GAZA

UNRWA agreed to absorb 235 college graduates in UNRWA schools in the Gaza Strip. The graduates are expected to start work on the 18th of January provided the Executive Committee of the Arab refugees conference pays their salaries.

December 6

JERUSALEM WOMAN JAILED

An Israeli military court in Lydda sentenced Khawlah Musa Samini of Jerusalem to one year in prison and another one year suspended on charges of membership in a Palestinian organization. Khawlah, a resident of al-Ram suburb north of Jerusalem, is the mother of five children.

JOURNALIST'S APPEAL TURNED DOWN

An Israeli military appeals court in Ramallah rejected an appeal by journalist Muhammad Amira against his imprisonment for six months under administrative detention orders. Amira, a resident of Nablus, works as a reporter in the Arabic daily *Al Quds* newspaper.

ADMINISTRATIVE DETAINEE RELEASED

Military authorities released Ref'at al-Sabah, a student at Bir Zeit University, after being held in detention for three months under administrative detention orders.

TRAVEL BAN

Military authorities in Khan Yunis summoned *mukhtars* and representatives of the town of Deir al-Balah in the Gaza Strip and notified them of their decision to impose the travel ban on residents of the town. According to the order, the residents will not be allowed to travel to Egypt and Jordan via Rafah and the bridges.

TWO DHEISHEH YOUTHS DETAINED

An Israeli army patrol detained Omran Hussein al-Atrash, 21, as he was walking along the main road in Dheisheh refugee camp and beat him up. The patrol also raided the home of Helmeh Muzhair in the center of the camp and detained his 18-year-old son, Abd al-Hakim. The two youths were remanded in police custody for four days for unknown reasons.

FOUR BALATTA YOUTHS RELEASED

Israeli military authorities released Badr Sharab'a, Jihad Mashe, Naser Rayan, and Khalil al-Asi, all residents of Balatta Refugee Camp near Nablus after being held in detention for several weeks on unknown charges.

FAMILIES OF DETAINEES COMPLAIN

Families of detainees at the central prison in Nablus have expressed resentment at their maltreatment by Israeli soldiers guarding the prison during their visit to the facility last week. They said the soldiers forced them to leave the prison before the allowed time for visits expired and hurled insults at them.

Mourners carry the bullet-riddled body of Habib Abu Rmeileh, 31, from *Al Aqsa* Mosque after his funeral. Abu Rmeileh of Jerusalem was found murdered and left alongside the body of another Ramallah resident in an Israeli grove near Bet Shemesh. The murders seen to have been criminally motivated./AO photo.

December 8

SETTLEMENT ATTEMPT IN JERICHO

Israeli forces closed off the Jericho area to prevent a new attempt by Jewish settlers to establish a settlement in the area. Israel Radio said a group of settlers had planned to occupy an ancient synagogue building north of Jericho to spend the Jewish holiday Hanukkah there.

MORE LAND GRABBED

Israeli authorities confiscated a one-dunum plot on the road to Hizmah in Beit Hanina owned by As'ad and Azmi Abu Ramuz. A room and wall surrounding the land were demolished by authorities following an advance warning.

SEVEN GAZANS GET JAIL TERMS

Seven youths from the Gaza Strip were sentenced to prison sentences by an Israeli military court in Gaza. Kayed Kamel al-Najjar, 22, of Abbasan, was sentenced to 26 months in prison on charges of membership in a Palestinian organization and carrying out a petrol bomb attack; Muhammed Ahmad Khalaf, 20, of al-Breij was sentenced to one year in prison and two years suspended on charges of membership in a Palestinian organization; Hani Muhammad Abu Hud, 19, of al-Nusseirat, was sentenced to 10 years in jail and 26 months suspended on charges of membership in a Palestinian organization; Fawzi Muhammad Saleh, 18, of Jabalya Refugee Camp was sentenced to nine months in prison and 20 months suspended on charges of membership in a Palestinian organization; Abdullah Hassan al-Saruti, 19, of Gaza was sentenced to 10 months in prison and 26 months suspended on charges of membership in a Palestinian organization. Two other youths, who were not named, also received prison sentences.

BORDER POLICE PATROL STONED

An Israeli border police patrol was stoned in Balatta refugee camp outside Nablus, Israel Radio reported. The police responded by firing a tear gas bomb at the stone-throwers, who managed to escape.

RAFAH TO GET NEW MAYOR

A senior Israeli military source reported that the authorities intend to appoint a new mayor for the town of Rafah in the Gaza Strip to replace the former mayor, who was imprisoned on drug charges. The same source said the authorities are also considering appointing an Arab mayor for Gaza, but "not in the foreseeable future."

December 9

DOCTORS PROTEST ARREST OF SHU'AIBI

Hundreds of West Bank doctors sent telegrams to the Israeli prime minister and defense minister urging them to release their colleague, Dr. Azmi Shu'aibi, who was jailed recently pending his deportation. Shu'aibi is in poor health and is suffering from tuberculosis.

SOLDIERS DESTROY OLIVE TREES

An Israeli army force uprooted some 500 olive trees in the village of Ubaidiya in the Bethlehem area on the pretext that the trees were planted on "military land." The lands on which the trees are planted are owned by Muhammad Mahmoud Awwad, Ahmad Mahmoud Awwad, Ali Mahmoud Awwad and Abdel Qader Mahmoud Atiyeh. An Israeli military advisory board recently allowed the landowners to cultivate their land.

THREE BEIT SAHUR MEN JAILED

An Israeli military court in Ramallah sentenced Hanna Elias Musleh, Khaled Abdel Wahid Hamid and Khalil Saleh Ghattas, all from Beit Sahur, to two-and-a-half years in prison and a similar suspended sentence on charges of preparing Molotov cocktails and attempting to use them.

The court also sentenced Akram Radwan, from the Ramallah area, and Muhammad Mahmoud Suleiman, from Beit Ura, to 20 and 18 months in prison respectively on security charges.

TEENAGERS GET HEAVY SENTENCES FOR PETROL BOMBS

An Israeli military court in Nablus sentenced 14-year-old Hassan Ahmad Abdel Aziz, of Nablus, to four years in prison and a similar suspended sentence on charges of hurling petrol bombs at the Bank Leumi branch in Nablus and at army vehicles. The court also sentenced Muhammad Mustafa Abdel Latif al-Khalili, 16, also from Nablus, to 12 years in prison and four years suspended on charges of possession of weapons and erecting makeshift roadblocks. Jamal Khaled Fayyad al-Saidi, 26, of Jenin Refugee Camp drew a 10-year prison sentence plus five years suspended on charges of carrying out three petrol bomb attacks.

December 10

BUS STONED IN JERUSALEM

An Israeli bus was stoned as it passed near Herod's Gate in Jerusalem, Israel Radio reported.

The bus, which was carrying Israeli soldiers, was not hit, said the radio.

TRIAL OF 3 YOUTHS BEGINS

Three youths from the village of Tamra went on trial before an Israeli military court in Lydda on charges of planting bombs in Jerusalem several months ago. The three have denied all charges against them.

NABLUS YOUTH GETS 12 YEARS

An Israeli military court in Nablus sentenced Muhammad Mustafa al-Khalili, 16, of Nablus to 12 years in prison and four years suspended on security charges.

DRUZE YOUTHS REFUSE DRAFT

The Israeli military police arrested a number of Druze and Arab youth for refusing to serve in the Israeli army. Nazeh Amer, of Shafa Amr, was among those arrested.

Students at Abu Dis College of Science and Technology protest an administration decision to close the school over a dispute with students demanding the establishment of a student council. The placard reads "No to Closure of the Science College in the face of its students."/AO photo.

RAMALLAH TEACHERS' INSTITUTE CLOSED

The Teachers' Institute's Student Council issued a statement explaining that UNRWA decided to close the Teachers' Institute until further notice following the partial strike declared by the student council. UNRWA refused a request by the council to reduce the school year from 19 weeks to 16 weeks to give the students enough time to prepare for the comprehensive exam.

TAX RAIDS IN QALQILYA

The Israeli tax officials in Qalqilya launched a campaign against the commercial shops. Last Sunday the director of the tax office summoned Ahmad Muhammad Sweidan and charged him JD200 together with JD20 as a fine for delaying payment.

Calendar

Readers are invited to advertise events free of charge: Wednesdays are the deadline for publication in the next issue.

December 13

Theater: **Luka' Ben Luka'.** From Sakhnin in the Galilee comes Al-Jawwal Theater with this new production. *Luka' Ben Luka'* is written by the Palestinian author and literary figure, Emil Habibi. Directed by Adeeb Jahshan, at the Nuzha/el-Hakawati Theater, Jerusalem, 7:00 p.m. In Arabic. Telephone: 280957, 288189.

December 18

Poetry/Music: Sami al-Qassem, with his latest poem, and Mustafa el-Kurd, with his latest tunes, will be performing in the small hall at the Nuzha/el-Hakawati Theater at 7:00 p.m. In Arabic.

December 19

Music: Christmas concert with Cilla Grossmeyer (soprano), Eliyahu Thorner (oboe), and Elisabeth Roloff (organ), at the Lutheran Redeemer Church, Jerusalem, at 8:30 p.m. Telephone: 282543.

EVENTS IN EUROPE

January 2-18

Theater: El-Hakawati Theater Troupe is travelling to England to present *The Story of the Eye and the Tooth* at the Almeida Theater, Islington, London. All performances will be at 8:00 p.m. except for the premiere on December 2, which will be at 7:00 p.m. For further details ring (01) 3594404.

EVENTS IN THE US

November 30 — February 16

Exhibit: "Ebla to Damascus: Art and Archaeology of Ancient Syria," an exhibition of nearly 300 objects, including jewelry, sculpture and mosaics from ancient Syria is at the Museum of Natural History in Denver, Colorado.

Family Saga

Continued from page 16

three separate prisons. Mahmoud, 18, is serving a sentence of four years in the Nablus Prison of Jnaid for allegedly hurling a petrol bomb and stones at Israelis. Khalid, 21, has been in the Jenin Prison for nearly six months. He has yet to be convicted, but expects to be soon. The third son is Nasser, 23, who is under administrative detention. The fourth is Ahmad, 15, who has been in the Fara'a Detention Center for nearly 50 days now awaiting trial. The family is left with an elderly father, mother and three daughters. The father, who was a worker in an Israeli company for a number of years, was fired from his job because of his sons.

Fida' is crying again, burying her head in her mother's lap. Her mother strokes her hair. When they came to arrest Hassan, Fida' was sleeping. They searched the small house for one hour-and-a-half, and Fida' was forced out of her bed which was thoroughly searched. There were no indications at that time that they would deport Hassan. He was not arrested or interrogated. But one week before he was arrested, Kefaya says, he was summoned with 20 others from the camp to the military governor's office in Bethlehem. There they were asked about the demands of the camp dwellers. Most of the questions were posed to Hassan whose answer was, "Take your hands off the camp. This is our only demand."

"Is there hope, my son?" asks the old woman. "Is there a chance?", and again I said "*Inshalla.*" I ask her whether she has since visited Zacharia. "No," she says, "The native country is so dear and I don't want to cause myself more pain. It is either I go there for good or I don't go at all." She has, anyway, been told that nothing is left of Zacharia, except the old house of the *mukhtar*, the school and the holy site which has been turned into a stable.

"Is there hope?" I ask myself this time, and I think of how Kefaya and her children were denied entrance to Jordan and were sent back to the occupied territories by the Jordanians just one week before the arrest of her husband. "I want to take my daughter for medical treatment. Why don't you want to let me in?" she asked the Jordanians. And the answer was clear: "because of your husband." After the arrest of Hassan, however, she was sent a message from the Jordanian officials saying that she is now allowed to go to Jordan at any time.

Such gloom and those refugees who have lost everything nevertheless hold fast to their rights,not accepting an alternative, suffering day and night. Harassed, arrested, deported, killed. Nothing matters save their commitment to self-determination, to statehood, to a return to their homes.

While in the camp, they do everything possible to support their steadfastness by all means, including taking care of the coming generations. A number of kindergartens have been established in the camp by women's committees. Kefaya's sister works in one of them where 50 children under age six are taught despite the near zero financial possibilities.

Is there hope? Yes there is. It is like the green grass under the rubble. Though one can barely see it, nevertheless it exists.

I left the camp imagining the scene of a story Kefaya had been prompted to tell me about her young son, Ghassan. It seems that Kefaya had taken the children with her father-in-law to visit Hassan in prison. She waited outside and let the children and Hassan's father go in since only three visitors were allowed. When Ghassan returned from the visit, he silently proceeded to undo his toddler trousers in front of the Israeli soldiers standing guard. When Kefaya nervously asked her son why he was undressing, he proudly said that he intended to replace his ordinary trousers with military fatigues. In his childlike way, he said that if he wore a military uniform, the soldiers would then not be able to refuse his mother entry to his father's chamber.

I laughed at the soldiers who laughed at him then. Yes, there is hope which cannot be extinguished by all the dust and noise and stones spewn forth by the nearby Israeli rock quarry which is trying to swallow the camp... ■

Hassan Abd al-Jawad, 33, is a Palestinian journalist. He is a resident of Dheisheh Refugee Camp and head of its youth center. He was arrested October 27, along with three other Palestinians, all slated for deportation. Ever since he has been waiting in Israeli prison for the deportation formalities to be finalized. Most likely, he will be deported to Jordan. He has been detained a number of times, the longest of which was in 1974 when he spent two years in prison. He is accused of being an active member in the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

Human Rights

Continued from page 6

rights and fundamental freedoms, and notwithstanding in many instances their subsequent acceptance of other instruments... there is still in practice a visible lack of commitment on the part of many governments to protect human rights in their own countries or to act for their protection at the international level.

Many governments which have accepted such international commitments fail to take measures for their implementation at the international level. Instruments which are concluded with their full participation and accord remain unratified by them for many years. Even if some of them have acted to protect these rights within their jurisdiction, when called upon in international forums to deal with violations of human rights, they are often more mindful of self-interest or protecting friends or with harassing adversaries.

One of the contributions of the United Nations towards correcting abuses of human rights is the publicity given at the world forum and through this into the international media. This results in the only restraint that some oppressive governments recognize — that is to keep their violations as secret as possible.

Because governmental commitment is often lacking and governments are often more mindful of self-interest, monitoring of human rights is no longer the sole preserve of the state. Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have played an important role in consciousness-raising and in identifying and documenting human rights. NGOs, while lacking official status, are in fact the first to publicize and protect human rights effectively. If those NGOs were given better opportunities, such as some degree of diplomatic immunity, they would play a greater role in influencing the decisions taken by the international system or by an individual government.

The importance of education in the process of awareness-building must be stressed. In this field, in spite of the efforts of the United Nations and its specialized agencies, a large area of the world has little knowledge of human rights. Human rights education is rarely given either in school or in universities ouside colleges of law. Human rights books and publications are rarely available in many Third World Countries and where they are available, language often stands as a barrier. The United Nations, UNESCO and the NGOs would offer the most effective service in this field if they were to make all necessary publications and materials available to every school, university, association and trade union in all countries of the Third World, in every language.

In addition to acting for the protection of millions of victims of human rights violations, more energy must be put in instructing them to act for themselves. The idea is to create in them an awareness that they have inalienable rights so that they will then be able to defend their rights by themselves.

In spite of all that, there can be no doubt that some human rights are better respected now than they were before World War II, including economic and social rights, the rights of women and the rights of racial and religious minorities in at least some countries.

It would seem that, notwithstanding the weakness of the system and the gross violations of human rights that continue to characterize the world in which we live, there has been progress in the international protection of human rights since the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. By the time Human Rights Day rolls around next year, the Palestinians would like to see such progress in our corner of the world as well. ■

Mahmoud Talab Namoura is a Palestinian researcher presently employed at Law in the Service of Man, the West Bank affiliate of the International Commission of Jurists.

'Strong Enough to Repulse Any Storm'

A Saga of a Family and a Camp Braving the Winds of Deportation

by Khalil Touma

The *Hajeh:* Hassan Abd al-Jawad's mother/AO Photo.

Ghassan, the four-year-old child, believed me, and for the rest of the day I blamed myself. I only meant to coax him out of his mannish silence when I asked him if he would like to visit his father who has been detained for a month now waiting to be deported out of his country. Ghassan first looked full in my face and then whispered a most innocent, unbelievingly long Ahhh (Yes) and jumped down off the chair waiting for me to move. But only my heart and tears did, and I escaped the situation by tousling his hair and inviting him to sit next to me. He did not, however, but instead opted to disappear for a few minutes.

The days are long and heavy. The naked Dheisheh Refugee Camp near Bethlehem at first glance seems defenseless and ready to be torn down at any moment by the delayed winds of winter. But soon enough one discovers that those modest dwellings are strong enough to repulse any storm. The people here, in fact, were born amidst a continuous storm which first uprooted them from their own villages and towns in pre-1948 Palestine and has been ever since trying to no avail to blow them past their future and legitimate human dreams.

It is such a large representative gathering of nearly 9000 people mainly from the middle region of Palestine. One hears so many names of places despite 38 years of Israeli efforts to obliterate them from history's memory — Zacharia, Mughalis, Beit Etab and many others. They are all still living in the refugee camps though they have lost their way on today's map.

The *Hajeh* as they call her, is 65, and the grandmother of Ghassan. Her son Hassan is the one detained for deportation. Raising her hands as if blaming heaven, the deep curves of the years on her face become even deeper. The sick, tired woman who looks like a century old speaks sincerely and directly mixing the old memories with the aches of the present in a symphony or huge tapestry.

"They have already deported my other two sons years ago. We were left with only Abu Ghassan to take care of us. Who will now? And who will take care of these little children? We are already done with."

"God helps, be patient," I say, attempting to pacify the old woman, yet not completely believing in it myself. But the old woman, to my surprise, answers, "God is not helping every one." I am really shocke.. Old people in this country are normally known for their deep belief in God. When this faith is shaken, nothing else can be expected to remain firm.

"Hassan," the old mother continues, "has such a wonderful human heart. I have been sick for 14 years now, and he has always taken care of me and his 85-year-old father. 'Shall I get you the doctor, mother? Shall I take you to the hospital?' He was always kind to us and to all others.He never harmed anyone. Is it justice that his wife and these little children be deprived of him?"

Wearily the old woman says, "Oh, I wish our houses would have been knocked down on our heads, before we could have left Zacharia, our village in 1948." Um Hassan said that a few months after the occupation in 1967 they deported her son Faiq. He was a student in the Kalandia training school at the time. "They detained him for eight months and we knew about his deportation to Jordan only a few days after it happened. I wish we had died instead of leaving our lands. They bombarded us day and night from the neighboring villages. One day we had to leave for a while until things became quiet, but we never returned."

She recalls how her aged husband was arrested soon after the 1967 occupation. He was a guard then at the camp school. One night while he was at home, someone shot at an army patrol near the school. The soldiers accused Abu Hassan of complicity. He was beaten so severely at the police headquarters in Jerusalem that he lost his hearing. A few days after he was released, both Abu and Um Hassan were called to the military governor's office where they were told that their son Faiq had been arrested. They were interrogated about him.

Their other son Khader was also deported in another way. He was studying in Algeria and the Israelis forbade him to return to the West Bank or to have his permit renewed.

The two daughters of Hassan — Bisan, 5, and Fida', one-and-a-half — enter the room and a row begins. Ghassan attacks Bisan because she hit her younger sister. Their mother Kefaya hurries to separate them. Bang, Bang, Bang. The children are crying and I feel they miss something. They are not hungry nor are they sick, but one feels that deep inside they are insecure.

The mother's interference only eases the tension for a few minutes and the row begins again. "The bombardment was very severe, so we had to leave. And I could not carry my three daughters," says the old woman, "so I distributed them among the departing neighbors and each went on a separate donkey, until we reached Sair, where we spent eight months with a family. Before we came to Dheisheh, we moved first to the village of al-Khader to stay in the UNRWA tents. Horrible, horrible. Winter was so horrible — snow and rain. Never saw such a winter before. And we had nothing except the charity of UNRWA. Is there a chance? Is there a hope, my son? Will we return?" asks the old woman after a pause. "*Inshalla* (by God's will) Hajeh," I say.

Bisan starts to cry again and Kefaya, the silent sufferer, interferes, and the bang of memories begins again. "We left everything behind — our house, wide olive orchards, sacks of grains, pigeons and tins of oil. Is there a hope, my son?" asks the woman again, and again I answer "*Inshalla*," and Fida' comes nearer to me looking in my face.

"HASSAN HAS SUCH A WONDERFUL HUMAN HEART... IS IT JUSTICE THAT HIS WIFE AND THESE LITTLE CHILDREN BE DEPRIVED OF HIM?"

I remember her. Last month, she was a live statement — at least for me — when at a press conference in protest of the intended deportation of her father and his three colleagues, she was in the arms of her mother who spoke to the press. The presence of the child then was more eloquent than any language.

Long are the days in the Dheisheh Camp, even longer than the main street that passes by the camp, linking the north of Palestine with the south. The poor steadfast refugees have been in an unending clash with the days and the street for decades. The days have only carried more disasters for them which they have faced with more steadfastness and the street has done nothing but vomit forth armed enemies, soldiers and settlers. They have faced them squarely with stones and demonstrations. As a result, rarely will you find a family who has not lost a son or who has no one in jail.

In fact, there are many houses left with only women and babies. The men are in prison serving various kinds of sentences. One of these is the family of Hassan's wife. Her two brothers are detained and only her elderly mother and young sister are left at home. The sister is also waiting for a court hearing on her case later this month. She was released on bail a few months ago. She has been accused of allegedly participating in a demonstration on Land Day and insulting soldiers who came to arrest her brothers. Last year, she said, they came several times to arrest her younger brother but he was not at home. So they searched the house thoroughly, beating her mother and breaking the door. When they later arrested him, he was harshly beaten because of her, she said.

Another example is at the house of Abu Ajamieh where the four sons of the family have been arrested and are in

Continued on page 15